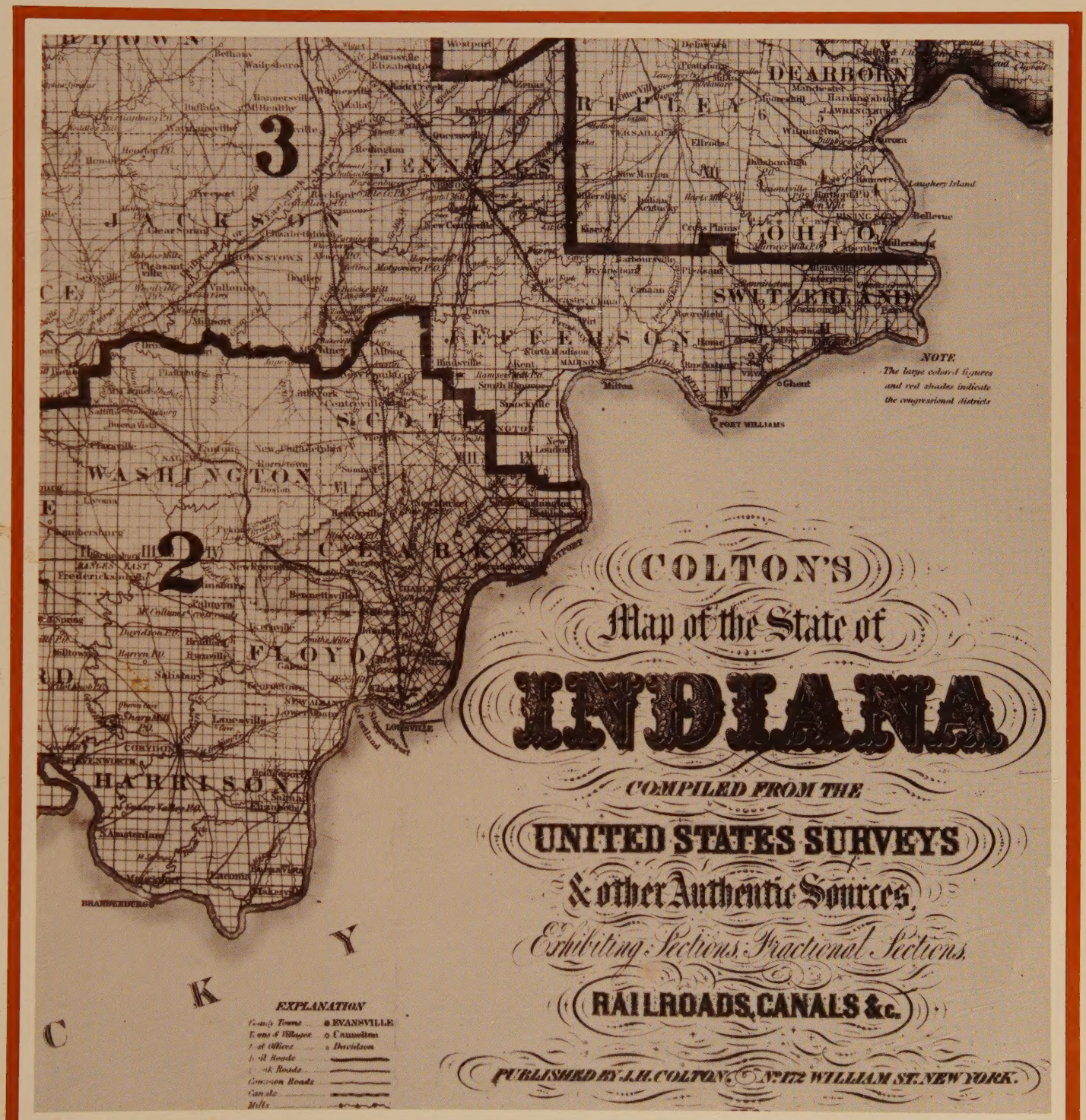
PROLOGUE

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES SPRING 1984 VOL. 16 NO. 1



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"No history ... can be written without precise knowledge of the vast resources of its archives. ... To prospect and catalogue ... these mines of the purest historical gold, would take not one lifetime but at least twenty. ... Need I confess that I have not been able to examine all the documents available to me in the archives, no matter how hard I tried. I know in advance that [*my*] conclusions will be examined, discussed, and replaced by others and I am glad of it. That is how history progresses and must progress."

Fernand Braudel, La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II

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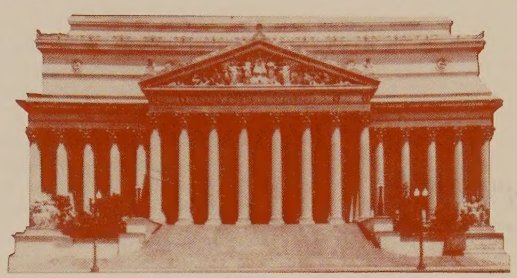

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Cover: The effort to compile an atlas of roll call votes in Congress began before the turn of the century, moved forward as a WPA project in the 1930s, and has seen recent progress with the publication of *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983* (1982). The map on the cover shows portions of the second, third, and fourth congressional districts of Indiana in 1863.

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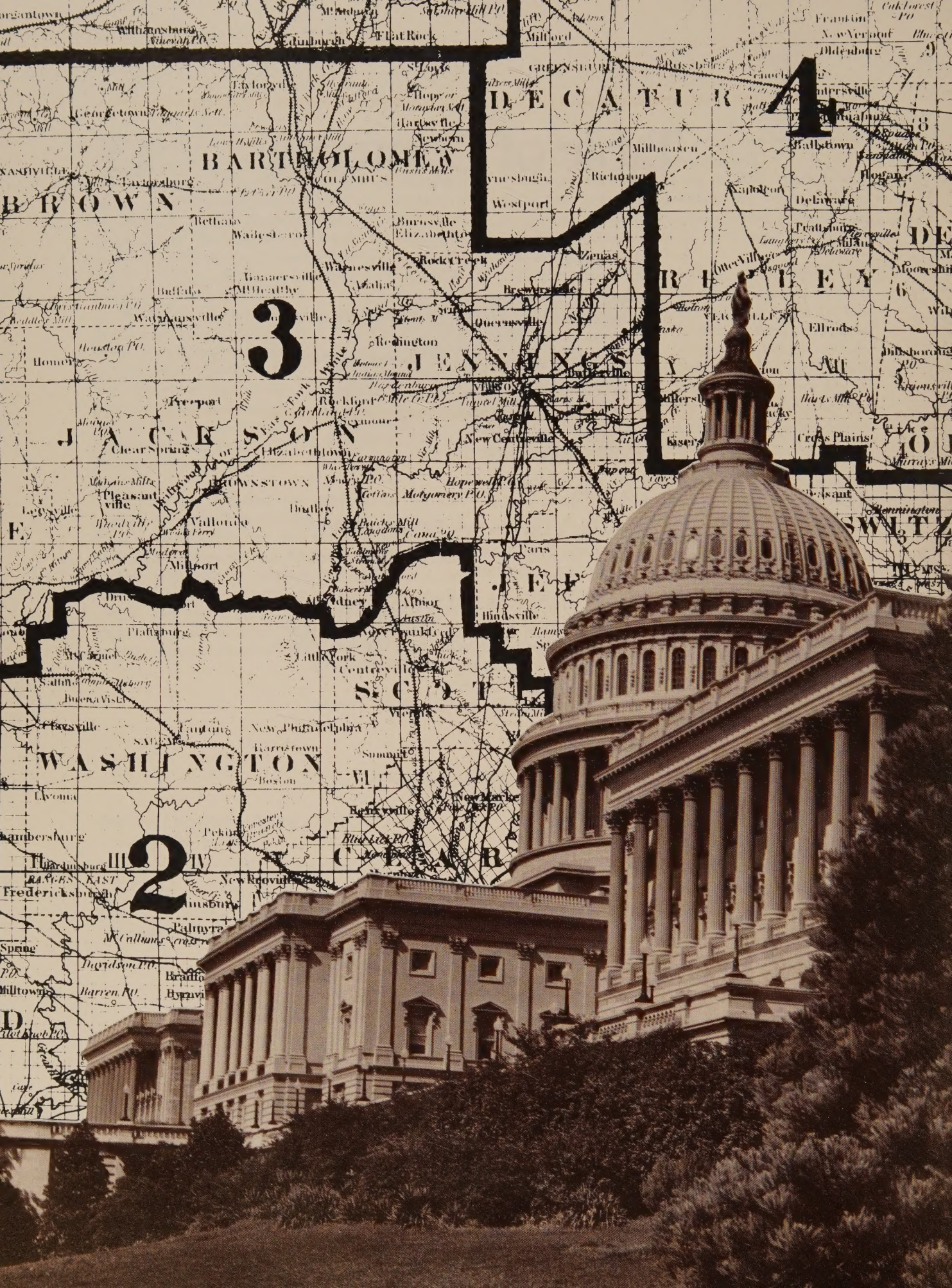
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Mapping Congress: Developing a Geographic Understanding of American Political History

Charles Thomson Prize, 1983—BY RUTH A. ROWLES • KENNETH C. MARTIS

The idea of mapping Congress, particularly to show geographic voting patterns in the United States House of Representatives past and present, has been advocated for ninety years. "Regionalism, sectionalism, and localism persisted and persist—east versus west, rural versus urban, Piedmont versus seacoast, Tennessee Valley Whigs versus secessionists, Sunbelt versus the Northeast, . . . and so on." Such differences and conflicts are often reflected by House representatives, who are residents of geographically defined districts and are elected every two years. As longtime residents of their districts, they have not only a knowledge and sympathy for area concerns but also usually some vested financial interest there. Since representatives are nominated and supported in their campaigns almost exclusively by local political organizations, the influence of national parties on House members is weak with respect to local issues.[1]

The idea of examining roll-call votes in Congress to explain regionalism in American history was first promoted by Frederick Jackson Turner and his students. The culmination of this effort by historians was an ambitious project during the Great Depression by the Work Projects Administration (WPA) in the Congressional Vote Analysis Unit of the Historical Records Survey. This essay will focus on the original research conducted by the WPA project towards producing a mammoth forty-one-volume atlas of roll-call votes. This research material is now preserved in the National Archives. The essay will examine first how congressional districts are defined and then the intellectual history of mapping roll-call votes. The essay will next discuss the history, methodology, and accomplishments of the WPA project. Finally, the essay will describe the significant contribution of the WPA towards the publication of the first complete historical atlas of congressional districts. *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983* is now available so that historians, geographers, political scientists, and classroom teachers can map and examine regionalism, sectionalism, and localism in American history as it is reflected by the politics of Congress.

© 1984 Ruth A. Rowles and Kenneth C. Martis

Ruth A. Rowles is an assistant professor of geography at West Virginia University and the cartographer and assistant editor of *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983* (1982).

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Research in the National Archives was made possible by grants from the West Virginia University Faculty Senate, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Association of American Geographers.

The montage at left symbolizes the geographic distribution of congressional voting throughout American history. Courtesy: U.S. Senate Historical Office.

[1] Clifford Lee Lord, "Foreword" to Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983* (1982), p. ix; Ernest S. Griffith, *Congress: Its Contemporary Role* (1967), pp. 206–223.

Table 1

Congresses with Five Percent or More Representatives Elected under General Ticket, Plural District, or At-Large Electoral Procedures, 1789–1847

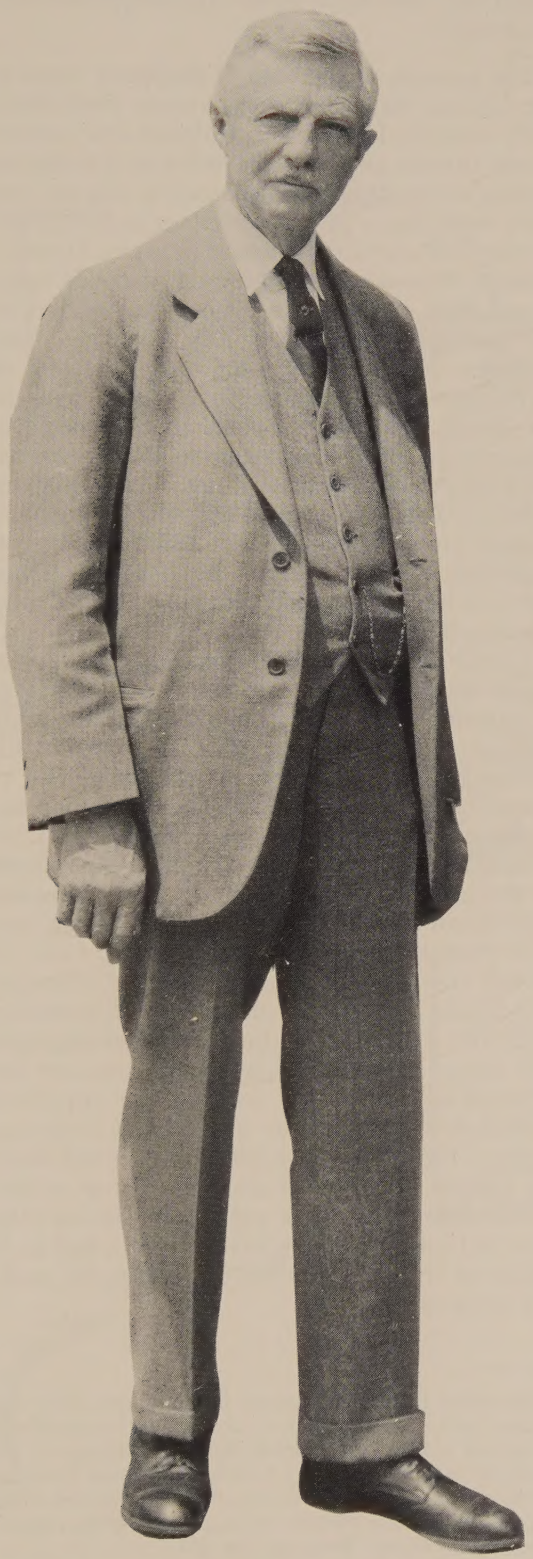
Congress	Number of General Ticket Representatives	Number of Plural District Representatives	Number of At Large Representatives	Total Percentage of Representatives
1	20			31
2	12			17
3	33	13		44
4	20	2		21
5	20	2		21
6	15	2		16
7	20	2		21
8	27	13		28
9	24	15		27
10	24	15		27
11	24	17		29
12	24	17		29
13	29	34		35
14	35	28		34
15	35	28		34
16	35	28		34
17	29	26		29
18	32	23		26
19	27	23		23
20	27	23		23
21	27	23		23
22	27	23		23
23	32	17		20
24	32	19		21
25	26	19		19
26	26	19		19
27	31	19		21
28	21			9
29	15			6
43	5		14	7
48	4		12	5
63	6		21	6
73	42		12	12

Congressional Districts

One of the most seriously debated topics during the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was the issue of representation in the national legislature. The Connecticut Compromise established a bicameral legislature with an upper chamber, the Senate, consisting of two members from each state regardless of size, and a lower chamber, the House of Representatives, whose membership was to be apportioned among the states according to population. Members of the House of Representatives were to be elected every two years by the citizens of the United States in order to reflect and represent their interests. Nowhere does the Constitution specify that House members should represent individual, geographically defined districts. Nevertheless, evidence in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, the Constitution, and contemporary political writings indicates that the Founding Fathers fully intended that members of the lower chamber be elected by individual districts.[2]

Congress pass apportionment laws after most decennial censuses to implement the Constitution's stipulation that representative seats be di-

[2]Andrew Hacker, *Congressional Districting* (1963), pp. 6–14.



Frederick Jackson Turner and his students used congressional roll call votes to explain regionalism in American history. Courtesy: Huntington Library.

vided among the states according to population every ten years. The size of the House grew from 65 representatives in the First Congress (1789–91) to 435 in the Sixty-eighth Congress (1913–15). A 1929 statute states that apportionment should be calculated using the existing 435 membership size of the House, and this number has been maintained to the present.[3] During these years five different formulas were used by Congress to divide the number of seats among the states. The first five federal apportionment laws (1792–1842) merely stated the new size of the House, the ratio of population to representative, the method (formula) for apportionment, and the specific number of representatives for each state.

The work of actually devising procedures for electing representatives belonged to the respective state legislatures, which could approach the task in different ways. District representation was dominant, although with no legal precedent and little guidance from the Constitution or Congress at least four electoral forms were used in the early decades of United States history: the single-member, geographically defined district; statewide election of the entire delegation (general ticket); the multimember, geographically defined district (plural district); and the combination of some members of the state delegation elected by single-member, geographically defined districts and some elected statewide (at large). Congress eliminated plural districts in 1842 and at-large and general ticket representation in 1967 and has now fully established the single-member, geographically defined congressional district. Table 1 shows that in past Congresses the percentage of representatives elected by the three odd electoral forms was significant.[4]

The state statutes that actually define and delimit the boundaries of congressional districts tend to be short and concise. Legislators often use known political entities and common geographical features to construct congressional districts. These statutes are political documents, and the redistricting process is open to such abuses as malapportionment and gerrymandering. Malapportionment is the creation of districts substantially unequal in population. It was aggravated by failure to redistrict after a census to account for population shifts within a state even though the size of the state congressional delegation did not change. For example, New Hampshire had the same congressional districts from 1881 to 1969. The Supreme Court, in effect,

[3] *United States Statutes at Large*, 46 Stat. 21, June 18, 1929.
[4] Martis, *Atlas*, pp. 2, 4–7.

mandated redistricting by applying the "one man, one vote" principle in the 1964 *Wesberry* v. *Sanders* case and ruling that each district within a state should have an equal population. Since 1965 the judicial system has defined and often delimited congressional district boundaries if the state legislature failed to act, could not act, or acted improperly in redistricting.[5]

Malapportionment has been eliminated, but gerrymandering, the art of creating election districts to give one political party or group the greatest advantage in the largest possible number of districts, still exists. If the opposition has 40 percent of the vote statewide, the aim of the gerrymander is to manipulate the congressional district boundaries so that the opposition has significantly less than 40 percent of the representatives. A peculiarly shaped district—elongated, fragmented, or perforated—may be formed, but a compact district may also result from a skillful gerrymander. Since it is difficult to prove the intent of the legislature with respect to drawing boundaries when there is an almost infinite number of solutions, the gerrymander persists.[6] Despite federal statutes and judicial rulings, state legislators remain the political cartographers of congressional history.

Mapping Roll-Call Votes by Congressional Districts

The genesis of the idea of mapping votes in the United States Congress comes from Frederick Jackson Turner. His brilliant and controversial frontier and sectional theories of American history are studied and discussed to this day and have won him a prominent place in the development of American historical thought. Turner's passion, some say obsession, to map a wide range of variables in American history was evident in his research, teaching, public speeches, and writings. Actually, mapping was only one of many evidential methods that Turner used in his research. He was a consistent advocate of the concept of multiple causation: that is, in most situations multiple explanations of causation are more prudent than a single hypothesis. Turner's frontier thesis, published in 1893, was an attempt to explain a vital—he believed dominant—force in American history, character, and development.[7]

Turner also believed that one of the ways to reveal American social and political thought was to explain the actions of Congress. With his strong interest in examining political history and his keen appreciation of the descriptive power of mapping, it was natural for Turner to map national political data. Electoral tabulations from presidential elections and roll-call voting records from Congress were the most readily available political statistics. Turner's second doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin, Orin G. Libby, compiled fascinating political cartography for his dissertation on the geographical distribution of the vote on the federal Constitution. His use of the political map as a primary descriptive and analytical tool was an important contribution to American quantitative historiography. Thirty-five years later when asked about the origins of this methodology, Turner equivocated, noting the idea germinated in his seminar and Libby was the first to use it, but as to which of the two was the originator, he could not remember.[8]

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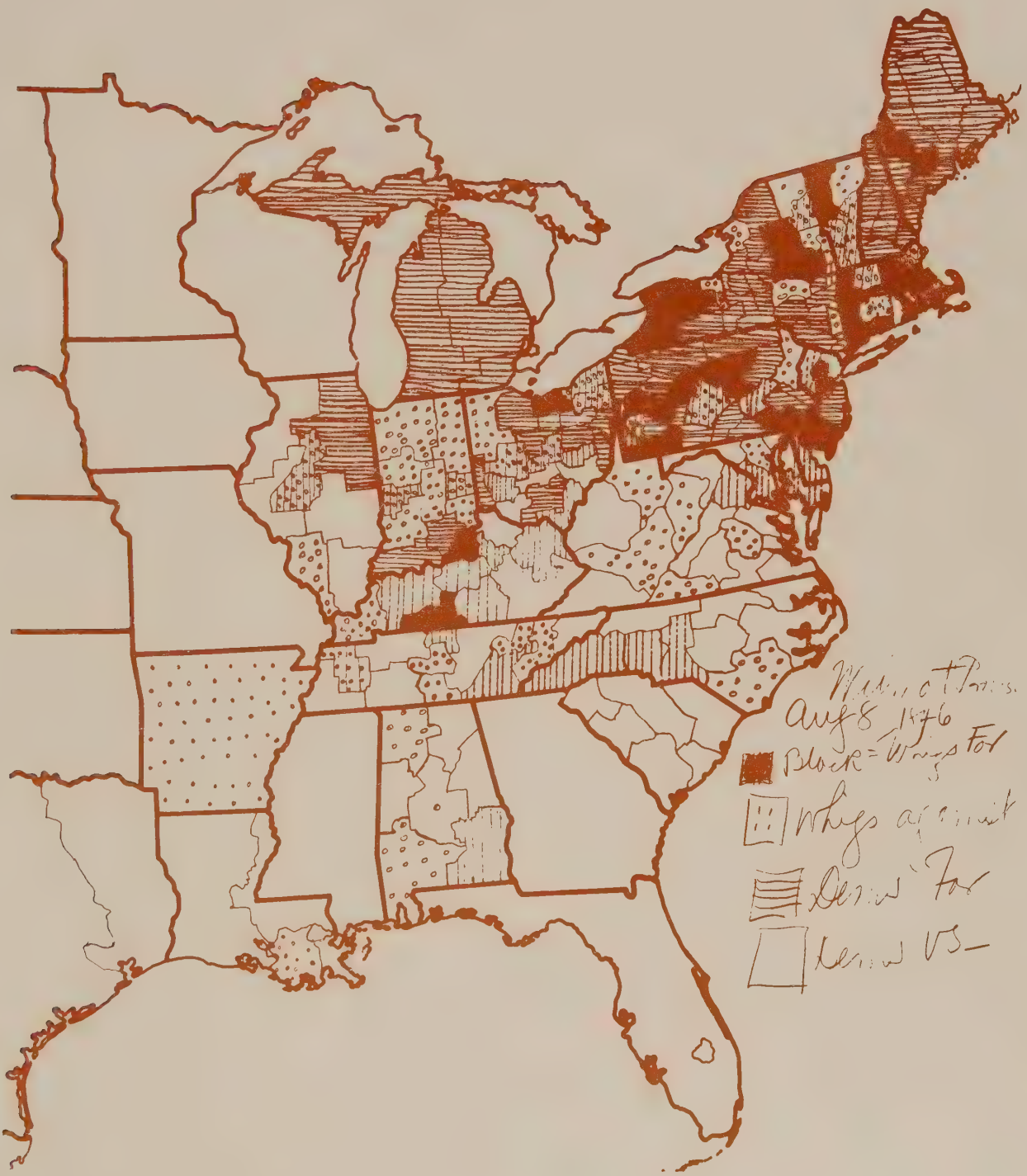
[5]"Apportionment" or "reapportionment" is used in this article to mean the distribution of representative seats to the states after each decennial census. "Districting" or "redistricting" is used in this article to mean the delineation of congressional district boundaries by a state statute or judicial ruling. Often reapportionment and redistricting are used interchangeably, but in fact, they technically are different. Two standard works on malapportionment in legislative redistricting are Robert G. Dixon, Jr., *Democratic Representation* (1968), and Nelson W. Polsby, ed., *Reapportionment in the 1970s* (1971). *Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, 376 United States 1 (1964), ruled against malapportionment of congressional districts in Georgia, which had not redistricted since 1931; its largest congressional district had three times the population of its smallest. *Roberts* v. *Babcock*, 246 Federal Supplement 396 (1965), was the first case, or precedent-setting ruling, in which a court actually defined congressional district boundaries. In this case, it was Montana's congressional districts. For a summary of court involvement in legislative districting and malapportionment see Richard C. Cortner, *The Apportionment Cases* (1970), pp. 3–27.

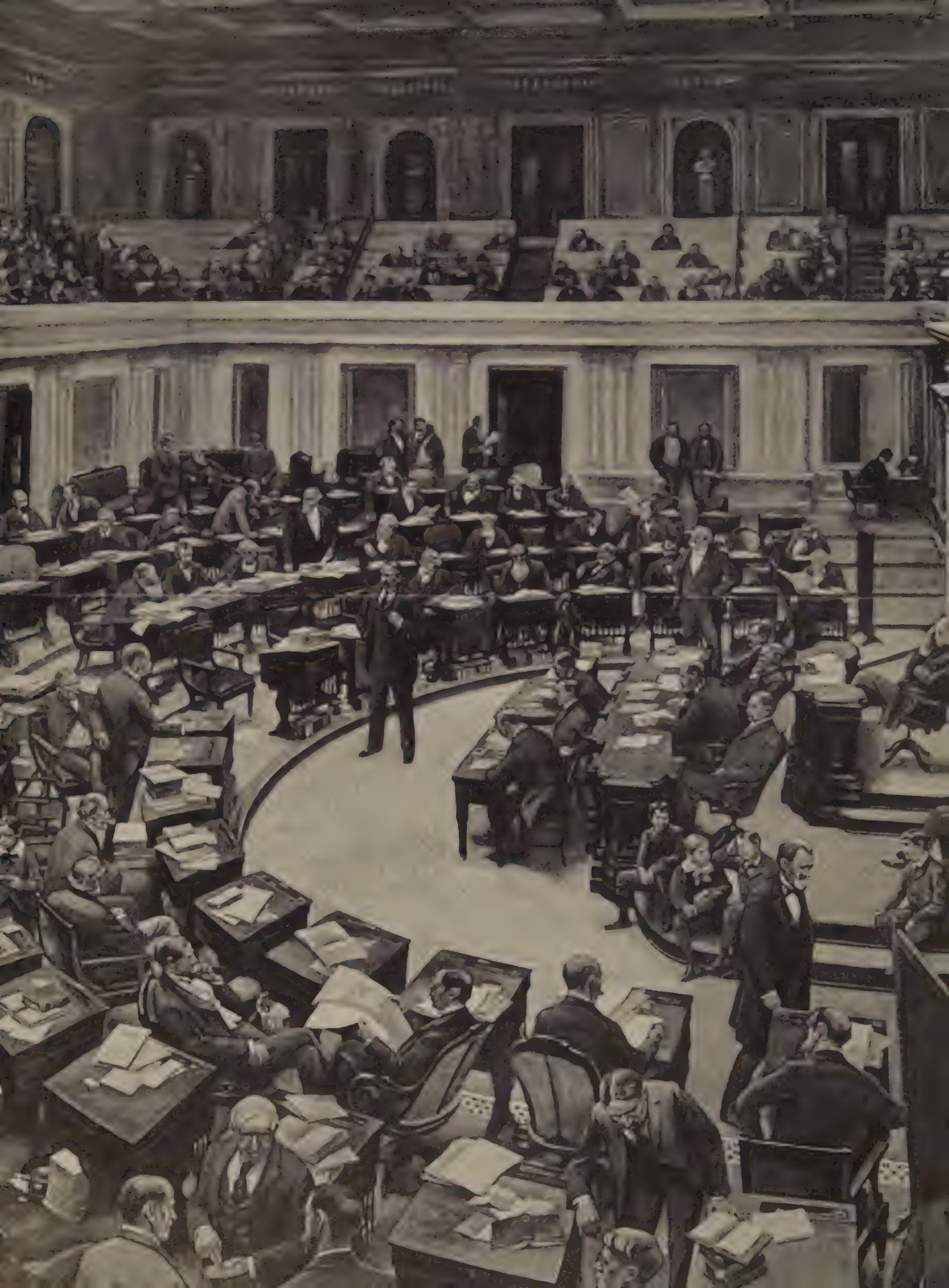
[6]There are many extensive works on gerrymandering. The four cited here are sensitive to boundary delimitation and other spatial aspects: Andrew Hacker, *Congressional Districting* (1963); Douglas Milton Orr, Jr., *Congressional Redistricting: The North Carolina Experience* (1970); Richard L. Morrill, *Political Redistricting and Geographic Theory* (1981); and William Bunge, "Gerrymandering, Geography, and Congressional Districts," *Geographical Review* 56(Apr. 1966):256–263. For an excellent political and legal discussion of the issues surrounding gerrymandering see U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, *Congressional Anti-gerrymandering Act of 1979*, Hearings on S.596, A Bill to Provide a Fair Procedure for Establishing Congressional Districts, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1979.

[7]Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (1973); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner* (1968); Ray Allen Billington, *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis, A Study in Historical Creativity* (1971), p. 257; Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1893), pp. 199–227.

[8]Orin G. Libby, *The Geographical Distribution of Votes of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution 1787–1788* (1894); Fulmer Mood, "The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker," *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 34 (1943): 331–333; Merle Curti, "The Section



Frederick Jackson Turner prepared this map of the roll call vote on the Wilmot Proviso taken August 8, 1846. Int by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, the bill stipulated that none of the territory acquired during the Mexican War s open to slavery. The bill passed the House but failed in the Senate. Courtesy: Huntington Library.



In 1896 Libby gave a significant address to the American Historical Association titled "A Plea for the Study of Votes in Congress." He used several roll-call maps on tariffs to illustrate "the importance of mapping votes of the great questions" discussed in the House of Representatives. Although Libby pursued the topic, it was Turner who continued making roll-call vote maps and obtaining the most notoriety for this technique. In "The Significance of the Section in American History," Turner relied upon congressional roll-call voting as one of the major pieces of evidence supporting his theory. "Party voting has more often broken down than maintained itself on fundamental issues," Turner wrote. "When these votes are mapped or tabulated by the congressional districts or states from which those who cast them came, instead of by an alphabetical arrangement, a persistent sectional pattern emerges."[9] His last book, *The United States, 1830–1850,* published posthumously in 1935, contained eight congressional voting maps that he used to analyze and illustrate important issues of that era. Turner had remained throughout his life a strong and persistent advocate and user of voting maps as evidence of regionalism in America as reflected by Congress.

Turner's influence is evident in the 1932 *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.* He was a consultant on the project and was involved with its initial proposal. The atlas, originally under the direction of historian Charles O. Paullin, who was later joined by geographer John K. Wright, was sponsored by the Carnegie Institution with the support of the American Geographical Society. The atlas was divided into eighteen major categories, one being "Political Parties and Opinion, 1788–1930." The stated objective was "to show the geographical distribution of political parties and political sentiment—more briefly, sectionalism in politics."[10] This section of the atlas had seventy-two color maps, thirty-six illustrating significant roll-call votes in the House of Representatives along with thirty-six presidential election maps. Although the color maps strikingly illustrated the geographical pattern of voting, they were rather simplistic. They did not show district boundary lines or district numbers for identifying a representative with a particular area. However, the text to the atlas discusses some of the methodological issues involved—the choice of votes mapped, the sources of information, and the symbolization and interpretation of the maps. Several paragraphs of information are provided for each roll-call map, including a table of voting by state, a description of the bill under consideration, a description of the geographic pattern on the map, and references. The atlas, both the maps and text, promoted the serious examination of congressional roll-call mapping for understanding United States history.

The WPA Project

Four years after Paullin and Wright's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* was published, the Congressional Vote Analysis Unit was established as part of the Historical Records Survey, Work Projects Administration. The Historical Records Survey was organized in 1935 to provide employment for historians, lawyers, teachers, and research and clerical workers by having them compile inventories of historical materials, particularly unpublished documents and records. Producing an atlas of congressional roll calls was proposed to Luther H. Evans, the first director of the Historical Records Survey, by Clifford L. Lord, an instructor in history at Columbia University in 1936. The concept came directly from the intellectual heritage of the Turnerian school. The WPA project was to combine all the ideas and methodologies from past studies and perfect them for the heroic goal of mapping every one of the 54,000 roll call votes taken in Congress between 1789 and 1932. The map of the geographical distribution of each vote would show contemporary state, territorial, and congressional district boundaries and an accompanying summary would identify the vote, arrange the roll call by state, and cite the pertinent debates. Columbia University Press planned to publish the atlas in forty-one volumes, totalling 33,000 10⅛-by-13⅛-inch pages, clothbound and gold stamped.[11]

"In the early spring of 1936 the work got under way on the Columbia campus," Clifford Lord,

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and Frontier in American History: The Methodological Concepts of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Methods in Social Science,* ed. Stuart A. Rice (1931), pp. 353–367.

[9]Orin G. Libby, "A Plea for the Study of Votes in Congress," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1897), p. 332; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Section in American History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 8(1925):270.

[10]C.O. Paullin and John K. Wright, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (1932), p. 88.

[11]Clifford L. Lord, ed., *A Description of the Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls: An Analysis of Yea-Nay Votes* (1941), pp. 2, 8. Lord's *Description* and its accompanying *Manual of Procedure* preserve the methodology of the WPA project. Copies are among the Records of the Work Projects Administration, Record Group 69, National Archives, (hereinafter cited as RG 69, NA).

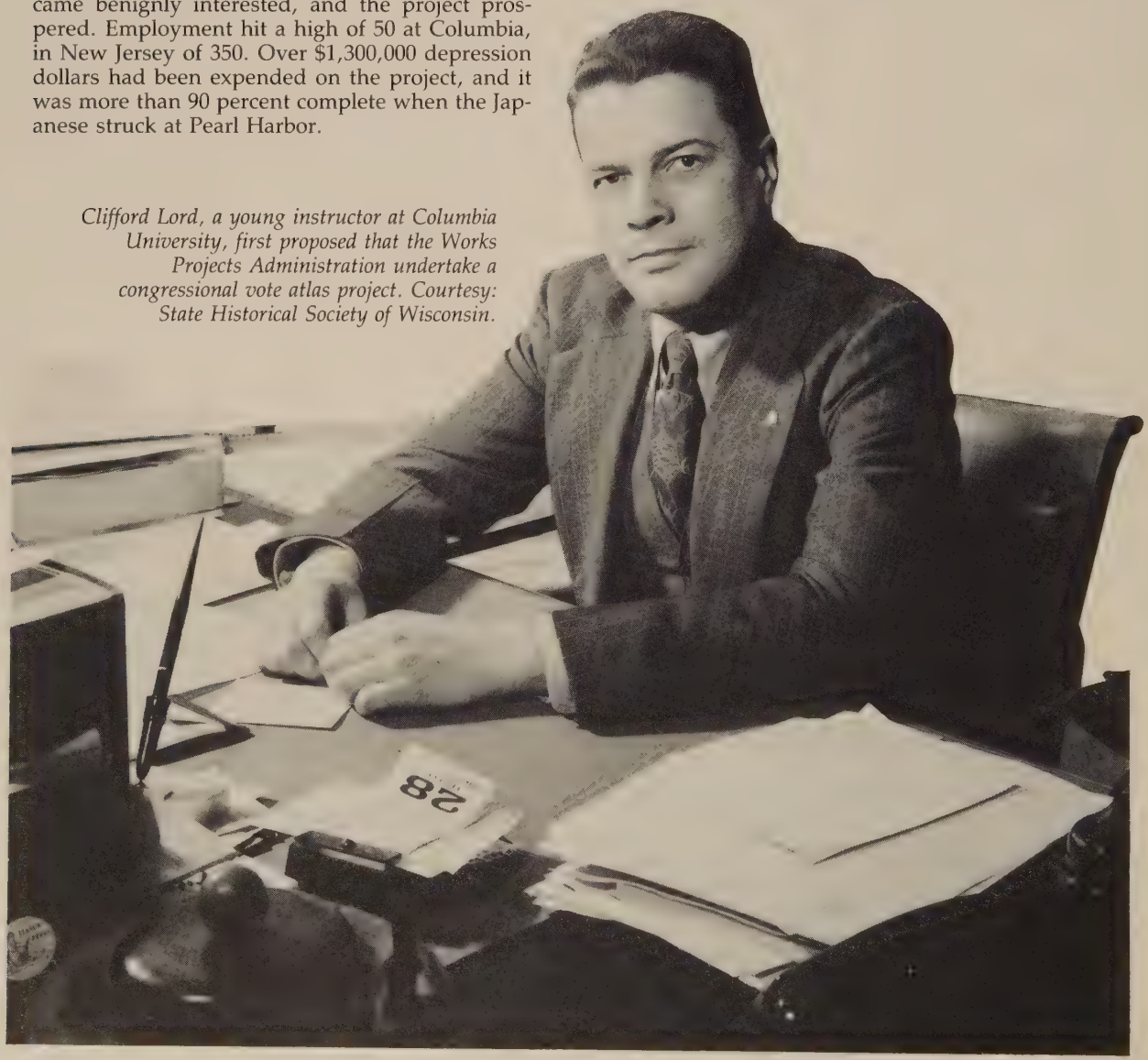
editor of the proposed WPA atlas, later remembered.

> In August of that year, Lt. Col. Brehon B. Sommervell, USA (Ret) was put in charge of WPA in New York City. He took office vowing to end all so-called "shovel-leaning" by the obviously lazy bums on relief in the city. The worst "boon-doggle" he had ever encountered was this ridiculous project at Columbia mapping the yea-and-nay votes in Congress all the way back to the Revolution! The project was preemptively shut down.
>
> Luther Evans did not see things in quite such a simplistic light, and within weeks the project had been moved bodily—except for the experienced working staff—across the Hudson (and Passaic and Hackensack) rivers into the then-bankrupt Hackensack Country Club, and shortly thereafter into a former dry cleaning establishment in Lodi . . . Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins became benignly interested, and the project prospered. Employment hit a high of 50 at Columbia, in New Jersey of 350. Over $1,300,000 depression dollars had been expended on the project, and it was more than 90 percent complete when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor.

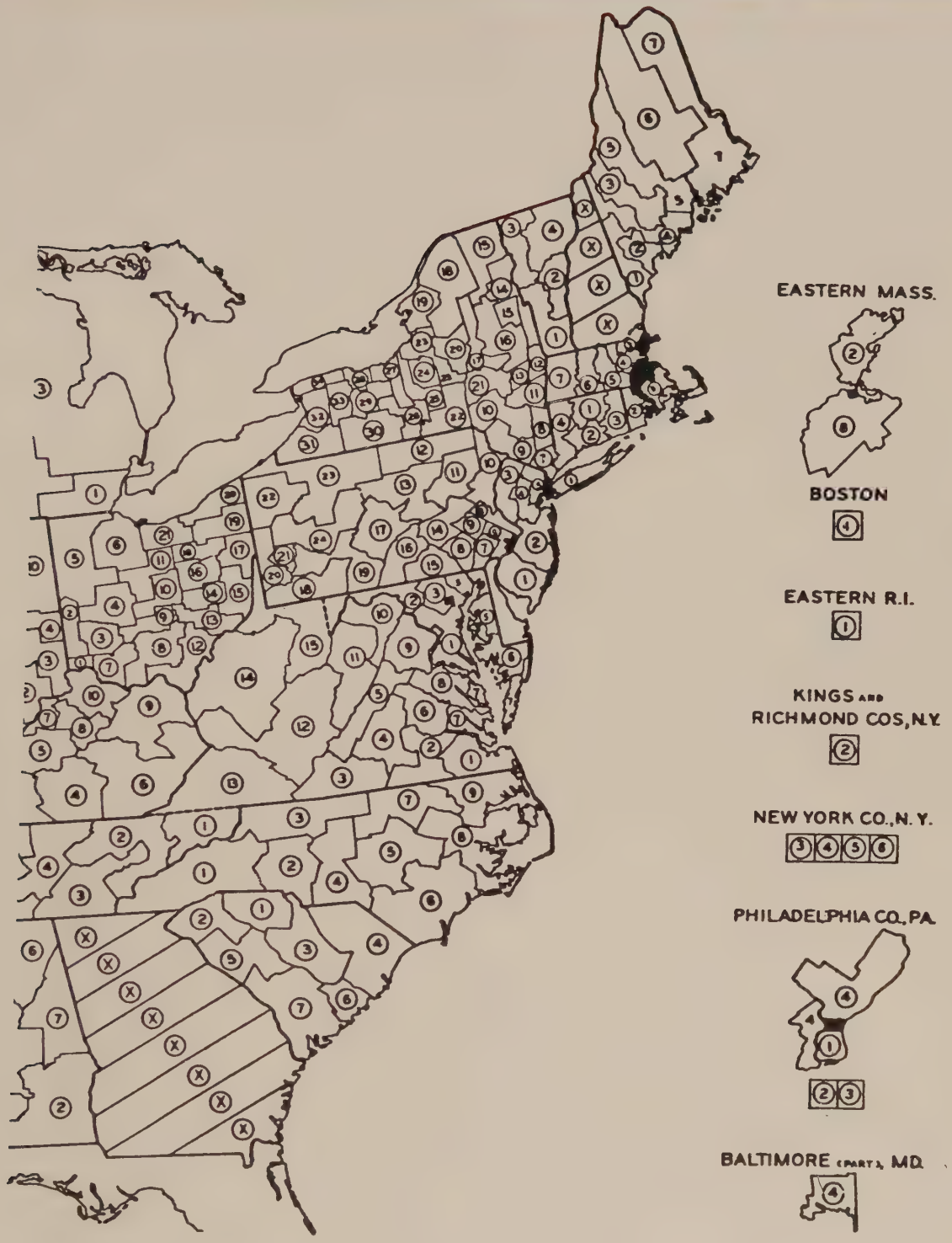
Anticipating postwar resumption in public works programs, the records and working papers of the project were stored when the WPA closed down.[12]

Why did the WPA decide to make a map of every roll-call vote, 54,000 maps altogether? Why not choose the more significant votes in American history? Obviously constructing 54,000 maps would maximize employment, but Lord also gave the decision a scholarly rationale: the work would be a resource, not proof of any particular historical theory. "We do not presume to pre-determine for anyone which votes he shall find important. . . . Scholars will find many uses for these maps undreamt of by those of us now constructing them."[13]

[12]Lord, "Foreword," p. ix.
[13]Lord, *Description of the Atlas*, "Introduction."



Clifford Lord, a young instructor at Columbia University, first proposed that the Works Projects Administration undertake a congressional vote atlas project. Courtesy: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.



Compiled from individual state maps, the map above shows the congressional district boundaries for the Twenty-Eighth Congress, 1843–45. Urban areas are indicated by counties at a larger scale and by boxes. The states of Georgia and New Hampshire elected their representatives by general ticket.

The portion of the Virginia map below shows the individual counties that made up the congressional districts of the Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Congresses. The district boundaries were ratified by state statute on March 7, 1843.

The WPA project involved several tasks: tabulating the roll-call votes, mapping the congressional districts, identifying the representatives with their districts, and describing the roll-call vote. This was an enormous project, which involved, Lord said, "working almost literally page by page through 620 volumes of the *Congressional Record* and its predecessors, through 394 volumes of *House, Senate* and *Executive Journals*, through all the *Congressional Directories*, through the *United States Statutes-at-Large*, and through uncounted hundreds of State session laws, court decisions, municipal codes and ordinances, and a great number of reference works."[14] This compilation was just the beginning, Lord continued.

> Even were the votes themselves readily accessible, with the roll calls conveniently arranged State by State instead of alphabetically, and with a workable subject-index and convenient analyses, it would still be impossible to deploy them geographically so as to draw accurate conclusions of their historical import without culling, as this project has culled, the Session Laws, State by State, for the districting laws, for with rare exceptions no maps of the Congressional Districts exist for the period before 1892, and the early Congressional Directories do not give the district descriptions and the later ones are not always accurate; without finding all the laws creating and altering the boundaries of the counties, parishes, wards, assembly districts, etc., in terms of which the districts are defined; without determining the Congressional election dates, State by State, in order to know for what Congresses the county changes affected district boundaries; without mapping the counties of these districting-law dates—all before the district maps could be started—a job no individual, no private institution, has ventured to essay.[15]

Mapping congressional district boundaries proved to be the most complex task of the WPA project. Maps were constructed for individual states and then transferred onto national scale or master base maps for each Congress. For the period from the First (1789–91) through Fifty-first (1889-91) Congresses original research was required. Volumes of state statutes were read to find all general redistricting laws based on federal reapportionment and all incidental redistricting laws that shifted boundaries between districts. In addition, all laws prior to 1890 that involved creating, merging, dividing, renaming, or changing county boundaries were copied. This collection of county boundary laws, which exists for forty states, is unique. When congressional districts were defined in units other than counties, such as the judicial districts of North and South Carolina, the laws were found that defined the unit in terms of counties. In addition state laws establishing the election dates of representatives to the federal House were found in order to determine when the state redistricting statutes went into effect. To be certain that all of the pertinent laws were collected, four surveys were conducted: two using the session laws of each state; one using sources such as revised codes, digests, compilations, or indexes to state session laws; and the final one using the compilation of county boundry laws prepared by the Historical Records Survey for many states. These lists of laws were collated into chronological order for each state, and the laws were then copied.[16]

Hundreds of thousands of hours were put into this one phase of the project. The research is even more remarkable considering the technology of the day. Before cheap and widespread photocopying, the job of reproducing quantities of data belonged to typists. Thousands of single-spaced pages of laws were typed with carbon copies on manual typewriters from the original sources. Before microfiche, quantities of specialized data could not be easily reproduced and stored in a variety of locations. Although the resources for legal research at that time were probably best in the New York-New Jersey area, the project directors also used correspondence and local researchers to complete the task for each state. Not until all legal documentation was assembled, could construction of the state district maps begin.

One of the complexities of working with maps and boundaries is that one must know not only how an area is defined, but also where it is located. For example, the Virginia congressional districting law of December 26, 1792, has Ohio, Harrison, Monongalia, Randolph, Hampshire, Hardy, and Pendleton counties composing the Third District. To draw a map for this district, the cartographer must use a map showing the boundaries of those counties in 1792. The same would be true for a New England town boundary, Philadelphia ward, or any other entity used to construct a congressional district. Legal documents and period maps were used to compile page-size maps of each state for each general redistricting and for each time even one small constituent boundary change occurred. An elaborate cross-checking procedure was established to assure that each county or entity in the op-

[14]Ibid., p. 7.
[15]Ibid., pp. 7–8.
[16]Ibid., pp. 34–35.

erative law had been accounted for on the appropriate map.[17] The summary notes accompanying each map have the date of the law, page number of the typed law in the WPA state folder, name of counties or other entities affected, the Congress the law affected, and additional remarks. The meticulous research and detail on the state maps was necessary to construct the national base maps, although it cannot be seen directly on the national map.

For the Fifty-second (1891–93) through the Seventy-second (1931–33) Congresses the WPA relied on the district maps in the respective congressional directory. These maps are small page-size, county outline maps of individual states. Counties or cities containing more than one district were not displayed. If the urban districts could be displayed on the WPA national base map, local state sources were consulted for determining district boundaries. Usually urban districts were so small on a national scale that they were represented by the WPA with small boxes near the border on the national base map. Early congressional directory maps were very generalized, although the quality improved after the Sixty-sixth Congress (1919–21). The district descriptions, listing the components of a district—whether counties, wards, or parishes—contained errors, and there were often disparities between editions for the sessions of each Congress. Current research has revealed that district descriptions often change in the last editions of a congressional directory if a statute change goes into effect for the next Congress, because representatives may try to claim and publicize new districts as soon as possible. The descriptions range from perfect replication of lengthy state laws to summarizations of the area. The WPA's reliance on a secondary source for compiling maps was not as rigorous as the research for maps prior to 1890.[18]

The WPA project also had to tackle a number of other tasks to map roll-call votes. Members of Congress had to be identified with the appropriate district, information that was absent from congressional directories before the Twenty-fourth Congress (1835–37). WPA researchers used biographies, state histories, and newspapers to identify representatives with their districts up to the 1830s. The WPA project also assigned arabic numbers to all unnumbered districts according to their order of appearance in the state statutes. Party membership for all congressmen and dates of terms for those congressmen not serving a full term were also listed. The project systematically cross-referenced the 54,000 Senate and House votes by individual representative or senator, vote response, and bill under consideration. Bill analyses were written for each vote, generally a paragraph in length, including the sponsor of the motion, bill or resolution number, popular name of the bill, its subject, the public number or approval date, the totals of the vote, and the effect of the vote.

Work on the WPA project ended with America's entrance into World War II. All the material was packaged for temporary storage at Columbia University. The indexes and analyses of all roll-call votes up to the 1930s were finished. The congressional district boundary research and state maps from 1789–1890 were completed, along with some national base maps. The WPA project had done nearly all of the necessary background work but had not actually mapped a significant number of individual roll-call votes. They were still considerably short of producing a mammoth atlas. After the war the WPA material remained in storage for several reasons. The directors and staff of the project dispersed, and WPA-type funds were not available. Also there was a general movement in the history profession away from the methodology and techniques of Turner's era. Historians' interest in electoral and congressional roll-call mapping faded, although publications on sections, regions, and regionalism continued. The WPA material remained unpublished, with the exception of a few tantalizing roll-call maps used by Clifford and Elizabeth Lord in their *Historical Atlas of the United States*.[19]

The WPA project was not entirely forgotten. In the late 1960s the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research (ICPR) received a grant from the Ford Foundation to build its machine-readable data collection, including congressional roll-call votes. The ICPR proposed to use the materials of the WPA project, and so the unopened packages were moved from Columbia University to Ann Arbor, Michigan. Identification variables for all representatives (such as Congress, state, district number, party identification, means of attaining office, and name), all roll-call votes, and information from the bill analysis summaries were put into machine-readable form. All information for the period after the mid-1930s was compiled mainly by the ICPR using the same

[17]Ibid., pp. 34–37.

[18]For a description and an evaluation of the WPA project see Martis, *Atlas*, pp. 31–35.

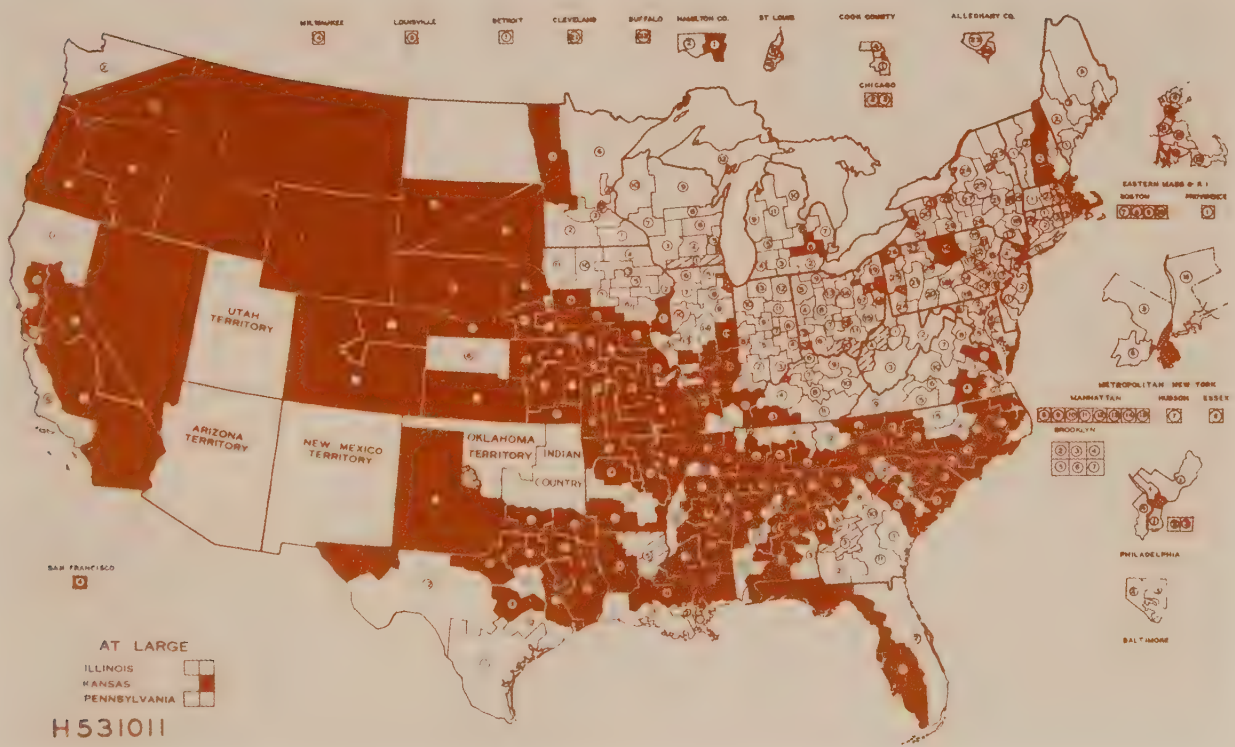
[19]Richard Jensen, "American Election Analysis," *Politics and the Social Sciences*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (1969), p. 235; Clifford L. Lord and Elizabeth H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States* (1944), pp. 61–62, 65, 135, 138.

format. Roll-call data has been available from the ICPR since the early 1970s. The materials dealing with the construction of congressional district boundaries and all of the maps were stored until the fall of 1974, when the National Archives and Records Service assumed control of the remaining WPA documents and moved them to Washington, D.C.[20]

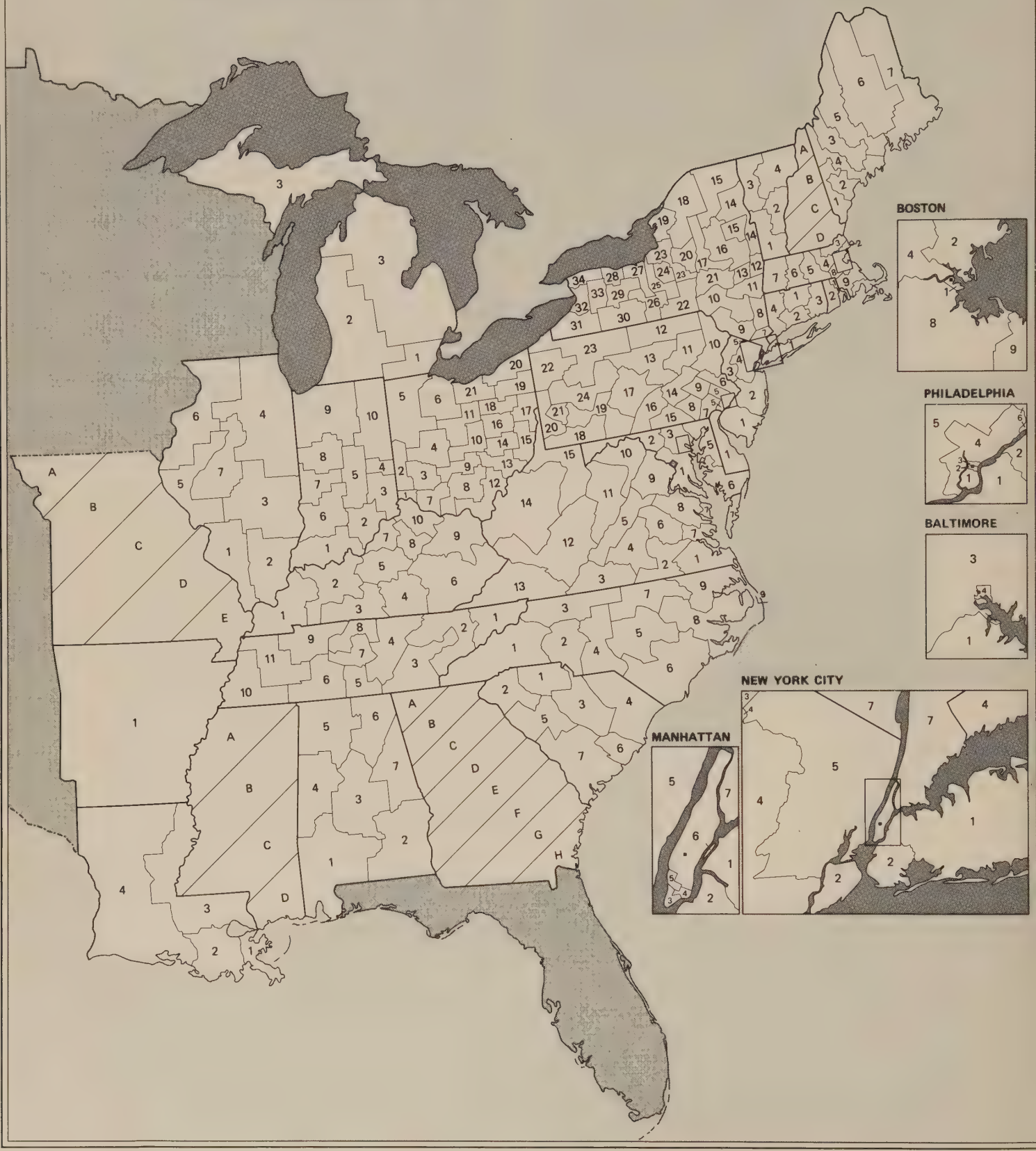
[20]The Inter-university Consortium for Political Research (ICPR) has evolved into the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). Information on available data may be obtained from ICPSR, *Guide to Resources and Services* (1977). ICPSR 4 is "United States Congressional Roll Call Voting Records, 1789–1976." The material at the National Archives consists of three significant parts: (1) 53 folders for Congresses 1–53 containing state maps and notes for each state that changed its congressional district boundaries for that Congress; (2) copies of state laws affecting congressional district boundaries and elections, 1798–1890; and (3) national-scale congressional district base maps for Congresses 1–7, 10–11, 28, 29, 44–68, and 71–75. These materials are in RG 69, NA.

The Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983

The next impetus for mapping roll-call votes, one that led to the publication of a historical atlas of congressional districts on a national scale, came from a geographer rather than a historian. Geographers' interest in spatial patterns and their description and explanation has led them to map and explore all types of phenomena, including politics. Frederick Jackson Turner interacted with the academic geography community during his career. John K. Wright, the geographer and coauthor of *The Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, produced several articles concerning American political phenomena. After World War II the literature concerning electoral geography proliferated in the United States and Europe. An interesting article by economist Howard R. Smith and geographer John Fraser Hart examined the tariff issue from 1929 to 1953 through mapping roll-call votes in the United



Above is a sample map from the proposed WPA Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls: Analysis of Yea-Nay Votes. *Each page was to have one map of a vote followed by a list of the roll call with the states, district numbers, representatives' names, political parties, and votes indicated. The dark color indicated nay votes, the white indicated yea votes, and the dashed lines indicated not voting. The map above depicts the vote on the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. By requiring the government to purchase twice as much silver as previously, the Act threatened to undermine the gold standard backing U.S. currency. The Act was repealed by a vote of 239 to 109. Courtesy: Free Press Macmillan.*



The map above is from Kenneth C. Martis' The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983 *(1982). The map shows urban districts on a larger scale so that all congressional boundaries are delineated. Courtesy: Free Press Macmillan.*

States House of Representatives. Seven maps appear in the article: four roll-call maps, one of congressional political party tendencies from 1920 to 1950, and two innovative maps of Republican and Democratic roll-call abstainers and bolters.[21]

In the fall of 1972, Kenneth C. Martis, a graduate student in the Department of Geography at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, was working on the issue of natural resources as reflected by roll-call voting in the House of Representatives. His search for base maps to plot the readily available roll-call data revealed that no publication mapped historical congressional district boundaries and that this information was virtually impossible to construct for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A chance suggestion sent Martis to the ICPR in Ann Arbor, and early in 1973 he was the first person to open the majority of the WPA map material since it had been packaged in 1942. He found enough nearly completed national base maps to begin a longitudinal study of natural resource voting patterns.[22]

More importantly, Martis recognized this national treasure of cartographic information and pursued, now from West Virginia University, the idea of producing a congressional district boundary atlas containing a national base map of every Congress in American history. He examined the WPA material among the cartographic records of the National Archives and corresponded with Clifford Lord, former WPA project editor and a retired president and chancellor of Hofstra University. Joined in the effort by cartographer Ruth Anderson Rowles in 1976 and supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Martis ultimately completed *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983*, the first volume of the United States Congress Bicentennial Atlas Project.[23]

Although initially Martis's *Atlas* relied heavily on the WPA materials, the WPA national base maps that existed were crudely drafted and prone to error; they would be inappropriate to simply copy. Urban areas had to be mapped as districts, using insets at a larger scale than the national map, instead of the simple boxes on the WPA maps. Then urban spatial patterns would be apparent. In addition, technology in cartography had changed to such an extent from the 1930s that it was possible to eliminate errors that would accumulate by manually drafting the same district lines over and over for each succeeding congress. The priceless material in the WPA collection was the files of state statutes and state maps prior to 1890.

The only errors found in the WPA material occurred when a state redistricting statute was overlooked, such as when a seceded state was readmitted to the Union with districts defined in the state constitution. The legal citations were valuable, because it was decided to include the complete legal history of congressional redistricting laws in the *Atlas*. Several sources were compared with the WPA information. An ICPR data file, "Historical Election Returns, 1788–1823," was checked to see if the number of districts and district designations matched the WPA material. Another ICPR data file, "Historical Elections, 1788–1976," as amended and published in Congressional Quarterly's 1976 *Guide to United States Elections*, was also consulted. Discrepancies were resolved by searching carefully for state statutes and using city and county maps in the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. Eventually, every congressional redistricting statute for every state in American history was photocopied to verify all of the maps.

Generally the post-1890 maps for the *Atlas* were made using the maps in the respective *Congressional Directory*. Few post-1890 state maps exist in the WPA project material in the National Archives. State statutes and judicial rulings for each redistricting were collected. The written descriptions of the congressional districts were compared with each successive directory to determine when map changes might have occurred. State legal codes contain the more recent legal history of that state's congressional districts. Old state codes and more recent ones were searched to find the statutes that became the primary cross-reference for the maps from the congressional directories. In 1960 a new era in mapping congressional districts began with the publication of the *Congressional District Atlas of the United States* by the U.S. Census Bureau. It illustrated the districts for the Eighty-seventh Congress (1961–63) with page-size state maps and, most

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[21]Robert H. Block, "Frederick Jackson Turner and American Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (March 1980):31–42; John K. Wright, "Sections and National Growth," *Geographical Review* 22 (July 1932):353–360; John K. Wright, "Voting Habits in the United States" ibid., 22 (October 1932):666–672; J.R.V. Prescott, "The Functions and Methods of Electoral Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (September 1959):296–304; J.R.V. Prescott, *Political Geography* (1972); Stanley R. Brunn, *Geography and Politics in America* (1974); and Howard R. Smith and John F. Hart, "The American Tariff Map," *Geographical Review* 45(July 1955):327–346.

[22]Kenneth C. Martis, *The History of Natural Resources Roll-Call Voting in the United States House of Representatives: An Analysis of the Spatial Aspects of Legislative Voting Behavior* (1976).

[23]Support was also received from the West Virginia University Foundation, the Newberry Library, the Huntington Library, the Association of American Geographers, and ICPSR.

significantly, systematically published for the first time urban congressional boundary maps. Additional atlases have been issued for Congresses since then. Therefore, published material existed for post-1890 congressional districts, although not on a national scale.[24] Checking the legal definitions of the districts with the quality and content of the available maps was the primary research task for this period.

The amount of mapping information needed to draft the urban congressional districts for the urban insets in the *Atlas* involved extensive and intricate research. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries an almost endless list of features such as town boundaries, wards, precincts, streets, rivers, creeks, canals, and railroads were used to define urban districts. These features can change or disappear in a short time, making modern maps useless for delineating districts from the laws. The WPA project had an eclectic collection of urban congressional district maps, with only Philadelphia and Baltimore being nearly complete for the pre-1890 period. The maps used to construct the urban districts prior to the U.S. Census Bureau publications of 1960 were primarily from the collection of city maps of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983 was designed initially for ease in mapping roll call votes. There is a separate national map with urban insets for each of the ninety-eight Congresses on a large 13¼-by-17¾-inch page. Opposite each map is an alphabetical list of representatives identified by state and district. This alphabetical listing corresponds to the alphabetical lists of roll call votes. The "Introduction" to the *Atlas* explains the history and significance of the geography of Congress and congressional districts and the methodology and construction of the *Atlas;* it also suggests aspects of Congress that could be mapped. The last part of the *Atlas* contains the first comprehensive listing of district descriptions for American history with references to the appropriate state statutes and judicial rulings. In this way the user of the *Atlas* can determine the geographic components of a congressional district and apply demographic census data or other statistics to the map. Clifford Lord, WPA project editor, described the

Clifford Lord was pleased to see the completion of his congressional atlas project. Courtesy: Hofstra University.

Atlas this way in the "Foreword:"

> Finally after forty years, comes this *Atlas*, distilling and completing the work of the Historical Records Survey of two generations ago and making it possible henceforth for every individual to do his own yea-and-nay maps. The summaries and roll calls are on computer tape, readily available through ICPSR at Ann Arbor, Michigan and most major research libraries across the country. . . . [This *Atlas* is a] valuable tool for hundreds of present and future historians, sociologists, geographers, political scientists, and classroom teachers, both collegiate and secondary. It makes available to scholarship what we almost made available with federal relief funds several decades ago.[25]

Mapping Congress does not end here. *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789–1983*, which was built, in part, on the earlier WPA project, has become the first volume of the United States Congress Bicentennial Atlas Project. A number of historic occasions will be celebrated towards the end of this decade, in-

[24]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Congressional District Atlas* (1960, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, and 1977). The Census Bureau has issued large national sheet maps, "United States Maps of Congressional Districts," for the 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, and 94th Congresses, but they do not show urban districts.

[25]Lord, "Foreword," p. ix.

cluding the bicentennial of the ratification of the Constitution in 1987 and the bicentennial of the assembly of the First Congress in 1989. Further reference atlases will be an appropriate academic tribute: volume 2, *The Historical Atlas of Political Party Representation in the United States Congress: 1789–1987*; volume 3, *Atlas of Critical Votes in the United States Congress: 1789–1989*; and volume 4, *Atlas of the 100th Congress*.

The second volume, which the National Endowment for the Humanities has funded, will be the first complete systematic attempt to identify and map in color the political party affiliation of every individual who has served in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Unlike the proposed WPA roll call atlas, the third volume will be limited to a number of significant votes selected by a national panel of experts in American history and politics. There will be an analysis of the bill, the debate, the vote, the geographical pattern, and the political significance and historical impact of each roll call included with each color map. Finally, the atlas on the One-hundredth Congress will be a commemorative volume that will demonstrate the myriad of factors that can be mapped for any one Congress: political party distribution, roll call votes, committee membership, seniority, and district demographic and economic characteristics. With the first volume completed, the United States Congress Bicentennial Atlas Project has only begun to produce maps that will enhance our understanding of national legislative behavior and American history. □

Holocaust materials in the National Archives amount to more than a million pages. One of the documents is this picture of a young Jewish girl evacuated from Vienna to England in December, 1938.

The Holocaust: Records in the National Archives on the Nazi Persecution of the Jews

BY JOHN MENDELSOHN

The Holocaust or the Nazi persecution of the Jews from the assumption of political power by Adolf Hitler in 1933 to the early post-World War II period has emerged as a heavily researched topic in recent years. Significant works of literature and history—novels such as *Sophie's Choice* and *The Oath*, stage plays such as *The Madness of God* and *The Trial of God*, the television productions *Holocaust* and *The 81st Blow*, the motion pictures *Judgment at Nuremberg* and *Genocide*, and scholarly accounts such as *The Destruction of the European Jews* and *The Final Solution*—demonstrate the power of the Holocaust to affect public awareness and inspire the imagination of modern writers.[1]

Perhaps more than for other subjects of research, a large number of Holocaust sources consist of individual accounts and recollections, especially survivor memoirs. Nonetheless, other sources, including reports of the perpetrators, hold great importance for the student of the Holocaust. The Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in New York, the Leo Baeck Institute in the same city, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and other specialized archives and institutions collect these accounts, both of survivors and perpetrators.

Although the National Archives does not specialize in the collection of Holocaust records, its holdings of these documents nevertheless amount to more than one million pages. The recently published eighteen volumes of facsimiles of Holocaust records from the National Archives constitute only a small fraction of the formidable total aggregate of such records there.[2]

The Holocaust documentation in the National Archives is characterized by a twofold problem. The material is widely scattered among various record groups, and no single finding aid for these documents exists. This article will isolate and briefly describe major accumulations of Holocaust records, thus becoming the first step in the evolution of a single descriptive guide to the records of the Holocaust in the National Archives.

Major Accumulations of Holocaust Records

The textual holdings of the National Archives contain eleven record groups with large accumulations of Holocaust documents. The most extensive are the captured German records and the records of the Nuremberg trials. They include much of the documentation generated by the perpetrators. Investigative and intelligence reports produced during the war document the

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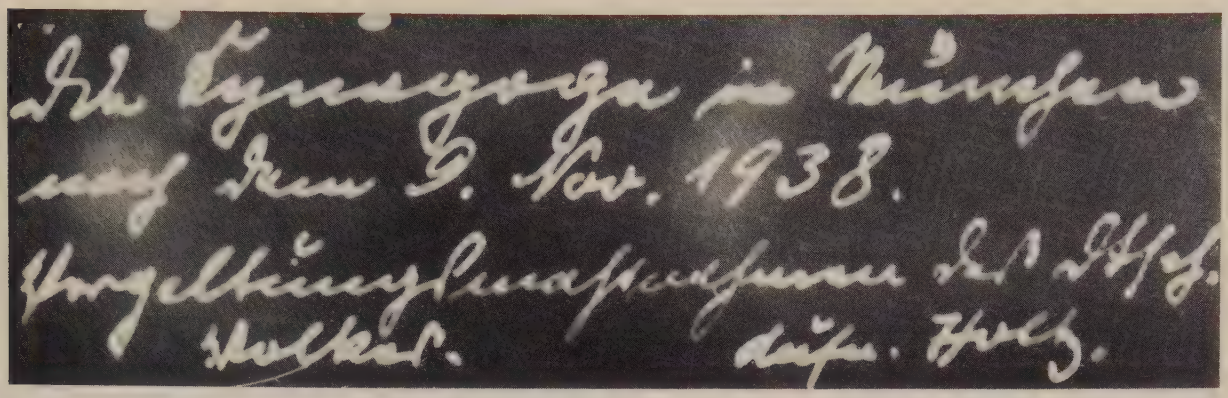
[1] *Sophie's Choice* was written by William Styron, and *The Oath* as well as the two stage plays are old standbys by Elie Wiesel. *The Destruction of the European Jews* is Paul Hilberg's still unsurpassed account of the actions of the perpetrators of the Holocaust, while *The Final Solution* is Gerald Reitlinger's account, both published first in the mid-1950s.

[2] John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (1982), consists of four sections: Preparation and Planning, including volumes on legalizing the Holocaust, the Crystal Night pogrom, emigration and propaganda and Aryanization; Killing of the Jews, with volumes on deportations, *Einsatzgruppen* activities, the Wannsee Protocol, medical experiments, extermination camps, and court cases; Rescue Attempts, detailing relief efforts particularly in Hungary and Switzerland; and Punishment, pertaining to the trials of the perpetrators at Nuremberg.

This scene graphically depicts the Nazi boycott of Jewish owned stores in Germany in the 1930s.



This caption from an unknown Nazi document reads: "The synagogue in Munich after November 9, 1938. Retribution measures of the German people."

Holocaust, and the records of the U.S. Army's postwar administrative and legal responsibilities in occupied Germany are especially significant. Diplomatic records of the U.S. Department of State contain information about the Holocaust, as do records of three civilian wartime agencies: the Office of the Alien Property Custodian, the War Refugee Board, and the War Relocation Authority.

Many of the German records seized by the U.S. Army during and after the Second World War were destroyed. The U.S. government returned most of the remaining records to the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1950s and 1960s. Before their return, however, U.S. government agencies exploited them for intelligence information and then microfilmed them as distinct microfilm publications. A tripartite team microfilmed records of the German foreign ministry at Whaddon Hall in England, other agencies microfilmed certain SS records at Berlin, and a committee of the American Historical Association directed the microfilming of most of the remaining German documents at Alexandria, Virginia. Today the National Archives holds more than thirty thousand rolls of microfilm of captured German records.[3]

Records of the reich leader of the SS and chief of the German police were filmed at Alexandria. They relate to various aspects of the Holocaust, including the treatment of the Jews by the SS in concentration camps, pogroms, and deportations.[4] The microfilmed records of the German foreign ministry also include Holocaust records. Files of the so-called *Inland* section, which provided liaison for the German foreign ministry with several SS offices, are especially important for the researcher of Nazi anti-Semitism. More records about the Holocaust are concentrated here than elsewhere in the National Archives. The documents include the infamous Wannsee Protocol, in which high-ranking government officials discussed the deportation of Jews for the "final solution" and delineated the parts their agencies would play in the sinister plot.[5] The various Holocaust records in the Berlin microfilm include indexes and lists of Jews whose German nationality was annulled by the Nazis. Another series pertains to Holocaust records in the Berlin Document Center.[6]

One can find Holocaust records scattered through these microfilm publications, and in some instances they are heavily concentrated. Some of the records consist of barely a page, whereas others are much longer. For example, the "final solution" file among the German foreign ministry documents, which includes the Wannsee Protocol, encompasses more than one hundred pages. Together the microfilm collections constitute one of the largest groups of Holocaust records in the National Archives, and they are fairly well described. With the exception of a few frames, the microfilm is legible. A few access restrictions exist on so-called R rolls.

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[3]These microfilm publications constitute much of the National Archives Collection of Foreign Records Seized, 1941– Record Group 242, National Archives (hereinafter cited as RG 242, NA). They are discussed from several perspectives in Robert Wolfe, ed., *Captured German and Related Records: A National Archives Conference* (1974).

[4]The records are exhaustively described in *Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va.*, nos. 32, 33, 39, and 81, National Archives Microfilm Publication T175, Records of the Reich Leader of the SS and Chief of the German Police, RG 242, NA. The reich leader was Heinrich Himmler.

[5]National Archives Microfilm Publication T120, Serial K797, frames K210398–499. This file is largely published in volume 11 of Mendelsohn, *The Holocaust*. The collection is described in George O. Kent, comp. and ed., *A Catalog of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1920–1945*, 4 vols. (1962–72).

[6]The Berlin Document Center has huge biographical collections mainly pertaining to former SS and Nazi party members. Biographical collections on the victims are described

The captured German records closely relate to the records of the Nuremberg trials, which proceeded in thirteen separate cases against the 210 most important Nazi war criminals. The International Military Tribunal indicted 25 major war criminals (including Hermann Goering; Rudolf Hess, the deputy fuehrer; and Joachim von Ribbentrop, the foreign minister) and tried most of them from November 1945 to October 1946. Subsequently, twelve U.S. tribunals tried 185 remaining major war criminals mostly in homogeneous groups, either by organization or by type of crime.

The tons of documents that these war crimes proceedings created contain many Holocaust records. Auxiliary staff translated most of these into English, however poorly, and the statements of the originators of the German documents often enhanced their value by explaining their motives in producing them. The most prevalent types of documents are prosecution and defense exhibits, as well as the document series from which many of the former came, and transcripts of the daily proceedings.[7]

Records of special interest to Holocaust researchers in the Nuremberg trials records include excerpts from Julius Streicher's anti-Semitic paper *Der Stuermer*, and a transcript as well as handwritten notes by Heinrich Himmler of his speech to the SS generals at Posen in October 1943, in which he discussed the ongoing extermination of the Jews. Also documented are the crimes of the *Einsatzgruppen*, or mobile murder commandos who killed more than a million Jews and communists in the Soviet Union, mostly by shooting but also by asphyxiation in so-called gas vans. Another series of documents pertains to the murder by the SS of more than one hundred Jews for the sole purpose of obtaining their skeletons for a collection at the University of Strassburg, thus demonstrating an extreme of Nazi racist depravity. The records include statistical tabulations of the "final solution" produced by Himmler's SS statistician Korherr. They also include detailed instructions for the use of Zyklon B, the insecticide used in the mass murders at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination center,

Pictured above are Naxi "brown shirts," members of the National on the windows of Jewish businesses in Germany.

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in John Mendelsohn, "Genealogy and the Holocaust: Selected Sources at the National Archives," *Prologue* 15(Fall 1983): 179–187.

[7]They are part of the National Archives Collection of World War II War Crimes Records, Record Group 238 (hereinafter cited as RG 238, NA). See John Mendelsohn, "Trial by Document: The Problem of Due Process for War Criminals at Nuernberg," *Prologue* 7(Winter 1975):227–228, and John Mendelsohn, "Trial by Document: The Use of Seized Documents by the U.S. Tribunals at Nuernberg" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1974).

Socialist German Workers' Party, engaged in posting boycott signs

as well as reports on that center by Rudolf Hoess, the commandant, and by former inmates detailing the horror and the brutality of exterminations.[8]

Although some of the Nuremberg trials records are duplicates of the captured German records, they were open to researchers long before normal historical and archival processes would have allowed. They contain fewer access restrictions, because in major war crimes the need of the public to know often overrides the right to privacy of an individual. Many of the records are fading photostats and crumbling mimeographed sheets. As a consequence, the National Archives conducted a massive program to microfilm the document and interrogation series produced for the prosecution staff of the U.S. proceedings at Nuremberg as well as the case records.[9]

The documents are surprisingly well described. Trial authorities published most documents and transcripts of the daily proceedings for the International Military Tribunal in the "blue series," consisting of forty-two volumes including two index volumes. The United States proceedings at Nuremberg are covered by the less complete "green series" that includes excerpts of documents and proceedings in fifteen volumes. Many staff evidence analyses describe prosecution documents, as do the special lists and pamphlets that accompany the National Archives microfilm publications of the records. Yad Vashem also produced an excellent guide to the Nuremberg records.[10]

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[8]Excerpts from *Der Stuermer*, including the ritual murder number, Nuremberg Prosecution Documents PS 2697–2699; Himmler's speech, Oct. 4, 1943, Nuremberg Prosecution Document PS 1919; *U.S.* v. *Otto Ohlendorf et al.*, Case no. 9 before a U.S. military tribunal at Nuremberg, tried 24 members of *Einsatzgruppen* (the case records are microfilmed as National Archives microfilm publication M895 on 38 rolls and are described by Special List 42); file on the skeleton collection at the University of Strassburg, Feb. 5, 1942–Oct. 1944, Nuremberg Prosecution Documents NO 085-091; Korherr reports, Mar. and Apr. 1943, Nuremberg Prosecution Documents NO 5193–5194; Zyklon directions, Nuremberg Prosecution Document NI 9912; International Military Tribunal pretrial interrogation of Rudolf Hoess, Nov. 14 and 15, 1945, and trial testimony of Mme. Marie Claude Vaillant Couturier, a former inmate of Auschwitz, transcript of proceedings, Jan. 14, 1946, RG 238, NA.

[9]Wolfe, *Captured German and Related Records*, pp. 274–276.

[10]*Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, November 14, 1945, to October 1, 1946*, 42 vols. (1947–49), index volumes are 23 and 24; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuernberg, October 1946–April 1949*, 15 vols. (1949–53); descriptive pamphlets for Records of the United States Nuernberg War Crimes Trials, Cases 1–12, National Archives Microfilm Publications M887–898, and

The Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) provided needed support for the Nuremberg trials staff. The OMGUS records consist of about seven thousand cubic feet of material that document the various activities not only of the headquarters but also of the state (*Laender*) governments of occupation, as well as predecessor (United States Group Control Council) and successor (Office of the High Commissioner for Germany) agencies. The so-called OMGUS Project processed these records. Archivists and historians from the Federal Republic of Germany cooperated with National Archives staff in describing on data sheets and microfilming massive selections of OMGUS records. The project has produced 7.5 million microfilm images and about 125,000 data sheets and promises to leave the OMGUS records one of the best described subgroups of modern military records in the National Archives.[11]

Holocaust documentation emerges from many OMGUS record series. A significant series of records of the OMGUS Civil Administration Division deals with the treatment of Jews in displaced persons (DP) camps. These records give vivid testimony to the plight of Jewish DPs. They depict the almost universal desire of the Jews, who had just recently survived the horror of the concentration and extermination camps, to emigrate to Palestine and the various problems associated with such emigration. The records also document the equally strong aversion of Jewish DPs for working in the German economy for the benefit of Germans. There are also lists of Jewish DP camps and other statistical tabulations, documents pertaining to the life of Jews in DP camps, and records relating to the repatriation of Jews.[12]

Other OMGUS records concern the disposition of gold, silver, and valuables confiscated from the inmates of concentration camps, as well as dental gold extracted from the corpses of the victims. SS Captain Bruno Melmer deposited valuables in the name of Max Heiliger (a fictitious person) in the reichsbank for the benefit of the SS, and other looted property was converted into currency by the Berlin municipal pawnshops. The records consist largely of depositions and receipts, revealing an estimated value of these shipments alone of about forty-five million reichsmark.[13]

The restitution of confiscated or looted Jewish property, including art and religious objects as well as books, make up part of the Ardelia Hall Collection. Ardelia Hall headed the Monuments and Fine Arts Section in the Department of State and assembled records from various agencies pertaining to art objects confiscated or looted by the Nazis in Europe. The collection includes records of the Offenbach Central Collection Point or depot, which collected and returned books, documents, and religious items alienated by the Nazis from Jewish communities or individuals. During its existence the Offenbach depot preserved more than three million items. The records also pertain to the problems arising from the fact that the rightful owners of the alienated property had largely disappeared through the Nazi extermination program. To cope with this aspect of the tragedy, concerned agencies created a trusteeship organization, the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Inc., which acquired most of the ownerless items. The documents include agreements between the U.S. military governor for Germany and the organization, restitution claims, and activity reports of the depot.[14]

Finding aids—data sheets produced by the OMGUS Project, shipping lists, and an in-progress inventory—provide excellent coverage for these documents. Few access restrictions are imposed on them. By concentrating on the records of the Civil Administration Division, the Finance Advisor, and the Ardelia Hall Collection, a researcher can locate the bulk of the Holocaust documents among the occupation records.

From 1945 to 1948 the U.S. Army in Europe conducted 489 war crimes trials with 1,672 defendants. U.S. military government courts tried about a thousand defendants who had been guards or personnel of major concentration camps or outcamps in more than 250 separate proceedings. A number of these cases dealt with crimes committed against Jewish inmates. Kauffering XI emerged as one of the most brutal outcamps of Dachau, with extraordinarily high numbers of deaths. Its population consisted almost exclusively of Jewish inmates, of whom many died of starvation, overwork, disease, and assault. A

Special Lists 38 and 42 describing the proceedings against Luftwaffe Field Marshal Erhard Milch and SS General Otto Ohlendorf, respectively; Jacob Robinson and Henry Sachs, *The Holocaust: The Nuernberg Evidence*, part 1, *Documents* (1976).

[11]John Mendelsohn, "The OMGUS Records Project," *Prologue* 10(Winter 1978):259–260.

[12]Records of the DP Branch, Combined Repatriation Executive, and Public Safety Branch, Civil Administration Division, Records of the Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS), Record Group 260, National Archives, (hereinafter cited as RG 260, NA).

[13]Melmer Files, Foreign Exchange Deposit Group, OMGUS Finance Advisor, RG 260, NA.

[14]The records of the Offenbach Depot are in the Ardelia Hall Collection, OMGUS Property Division, RG 260, NA. Memorandum of Agreement between the Military Governor and representative of the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Inc. on the restitution of non-claimed property, with attachments, Feb. 15–Apr. 5, 1949, RG 260, NA.

Nazi doctrine and practice was not confined to Germany. In the United States, the German American Bund spread hatred of the Jews through rallies and publications.

An exhibit entitled "The Eternal Jew" opened in Munich on November 8, 1937. The Nazis used such events to spread anti-semitism.

knowledgeable inmate witness estimated that the daily death rate fluctuated from ten to thirty inmates. In the case of *United States of America* v. *Willi Fischer et al.*, a general military government court tried several individuals for mistreating and killing Jews at Kauffering XI. One of these, the capo (inmate supervisor) Willi Fischer, specialized in beating inmates to death with a wooden club. SS Sergeant Martin Philipp Schroyer, tried in the same case as a guard, preferred to kill his victims by beating them to death with a rubber club. On March 6, 1947, in a proceeding held at the site of the former Dachau concentration camp, the court found the two defendants guilty of violations of the laws and usages of war and sentenced them to death. That September, prison authorities executed the sentence at Landsberg War Criminal Prison no. 1, where Adolf Hitler had been confined as a prisoner in the 1920s.[15]

Perhaps the most unusual case of the army war crimes trials concerned the Negus. In the winter of 1944 the Kauffering XI camp had an inmate population of between two and three thousand individuals, both men and women. The vast majority were Jews from Lithuania and Hungary. The Negus, a Lithuanian Jew whose real name was Boris Iserlis, had charge of rations and worked as the camp kitchen clerk. The prosecution charged that the Negus beat inmates and made some of them stand in front of the kitchen with potatoes in their mouths for extended periods. The prosecution further charged that some prisoners had died from the beatings and from shortening of rations for which the Negus was responsible. A general military court tried him, also at the Dachau site, and found him guilty.

[15]Transcripts of *United States of America* v. *Willi Fischer et al.*, Case no. 000-50-2-62, Feb. 26–Mar. 6, 1947, Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1942– , Record Group 338, National Archives (hereinafter cited as RG 338, NA), and Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), Record Group 153, National Archives (hereinafter cited as RG 153, NA).

The picture of this gutted synagogue was introduced as evidence in the war crimes trials at Nuremburg.

The holy Torah scrolls lay among the ruins of a synagogue ravaged by the Nazis.

Sentenced to eight years imprisonment at Landsberg, he was released for "good behavior" in the fall of 1950.[16]

The Muehldorf Ring group of concentration camps also had a large Jewish inmate population and a very high death rate. It included five subsidiary camps to the Dachau parent camp: Arbeitslager, Frauenlager, Waldlager (male), Waldlager (female), and Thalheim. Fairly accurate and detailed statistics exist for these camps from July 1944 to April 1945. Among the prisoners, Hungarian Jews constituted the majority, but 450 French, Italian, and Greek Jews and perhaps 600 non-Jewish prisoners also stayed there. Because of the brutal camp conditions, of 8,300 inmates only 3,556 or 43 percent survived—in camps classified as nonextermination camps. The 3,934 who succumbed to the brutal treatment perished in various ways: 2,200 died in the camps from shootings, beatings, disease, and malnutrition; camp authorities sent 840 to Auschwitz for extermination because their weak state of health made it impossible for them to continue the brutal work pace required by the SS; and nearly 900 died during evacuation marches and transports. Another 810 remain unaccounted for.[17]

Army investigatory authorities assembled the so-called Auschwitz file while investigating Auschwitz personnel in the U.S. zone of occupation for extradition to Poland to stand trial there. The file contains many depositions by victims and suspects, as well as lists of suspects and Auschwitz personnel and statements of their alleged offenses and camp responsibilities. Original recommendations for the war merit cross for Auschwitz personnel, including one for Josef Mengele, the "Angel of Death" who selected children for his notorious medical experiments, lend importance to this file.[18]

Action and after-action reports of U.S. Army units involved in the liberation of the concentration camps Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenburg, Mauthausen, and Nordhausen and numerous outcamps such as Ebensee, Gusen, and Muehldorf add to the official documentation of the Holocaust. Records of hospital units document particularly the condition of survivors, many of whom suffered from severe malnutrition and from typhus.[19]

These U.S. Army war crimes trials records contain an ever-growing number of fading photostats, crumbling mimeograph sheets, and nearly illegible onion-skin copies, and the conservation needs are acute. The National Archives has begun to rebox the records in acid-free containers and to microfilm the most important cases. They are generally open to research although an occasional document is restricted, mainly clinical and parole records, largely to protect whatever right to privacy a convicted war criminal possesses. Other than the pamphlets for a dozen microfilm publications, no published finding aids to the records exist.

The central decimal file of the Department of State contains documents spread over a larger

[16]Transcript of *United States of America* v. *Johann Heller et al.*, Case no. 000-50-2-15, Nov. 14, 1946, and prison record of Boris Iserlis, 1946–50, inmate files of Landsberg War Criminal Prison no. 1, RG 338 and RG 153, NA.

[17]Memorandum with statistics, n.d., case records of *United States of America* v. *Michael Vogel et al.*, Case no. 000-50-2-112, RG 338 and RG 153, NA.

[18]This file consists of about 10 inches of records and is the only documentation on Auschwitz among the U.S. Army war crimes records, 000-50-3, RG 338 and RG 153, NA.

[19]Typical is the after-action report for the liberation of Buchenwald of Combat Command A, Sixth Armored Division, Apr. 1–30, 1945, RG 338, NA.

This photograph was captioned "The Warsaw Ghetto is no more" by

time period than the Army trial records. Most of the Holocaust records in the decimal file are found under the headings a researcher would logically expect—refugees, racism, and Jewish emigration.[20] So-called purport lists provide good descriptions for the records. They are open to research, with only occasional access restrictions based on privacy considerations and even rarer security restrictions.

Documentation in this huge file covers many different aspects of the terrible events of the Holocaust. The documents deal with anti-Semitic laws, emigration of Jews from Germany and Austria, the nationwide Crystal Night pogrom of November 1938, as well as rescue and relief activities.[21] Records of Foreign Service posts also contain copies of many of these records and include additional documents—for example, records on the refusal of the Cuban government to let Jewish refugees on the S.S. *St. Louis* land in Havana.[22] Further documentation on emigration can be located among the records of the Visa Division.

The Alien Property Custodian left important but less varied Holocaust records than the De-

[20]Decimal Files 840.48, 837.55J, and 862.4016, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives (hereinafter cited as RG 59, NA).

[21]For example, excerpts on race pollution legislation from *Reichsgesetzblatt*, part 1, no. 33, Feb. 23, 1940, with covering report and translation, Decimal File 862.4016/2161; on raising funds to enable young German Jews to emigrate, telegram from the American embassy in Berlin, Jan. 14, 1936, Decimal File 862.4016/1598; on the rescue of Jews from Rumania, telegram from the Secretary of State to the American legation in Bern, May 16, 1943, Decimal File 862.4016/2269, RG 59, NA. The pogrom was staged by the Nazis allegedly as a response to the assassination of Ernst von Rath, an official of the German embassy in Paris, by Herschel Grynszpan, a Polish Jew.

[22]Havana Post File, 1938, vol. 14, Decimal 848, accession number 55A354, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84, National Archives.

an unidentified German official. The picture is from the Stroop report, a pictorial record of the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto.

Zur Kündigung Hannels

rück dem festen Abschluß! ....

... bei der Anlieferung des Gerüsts müssen „unsere Leut"

schon wieder fest anbeißen! ...

partment of State. The documents include the records of the German-American Bund, an organization that attempted, through anti-Semitic propaganda and rallies, to follow Nazi doctrine and practices in the United States. The library of the German-American Bund contains a significant collection of anti-Semitic publications and posters. These include copies of the pernicious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in both English and German, copies of *Der Stuermer*, and other anti-Semitic papers and items. Court proceedings involving the leaders of the Bund reveal the extent of the support this organization received from the Nazis. An inventory, now in progress, will provide these important records with good finding aids, including a listing of the Bund library. No major access restrictions are imposed on the records.[23]

As the Second World War progressed, the extent, brutality, and irrationality of the Nazi extermination of the Jews in Europe became more widely known. As a consequence of increasing pressure from various groups to alleviate the suffering of the Jews, President Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board in January 1944. The board consisted of the secretaries of War, State, and the Treasury, with John W. Pehle as executive director. Although the board assisted in the rescue of thousands of Jews, measured by the gargantuan dimensions of the suffering it did too little and came too late in the war to make a decisive difference.

The records of the War Refugee Board, about fifty cubic feet located in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, include correspondence and plans to carry out relief and rescue by various means. Some of the documents deal with conditions of Jews in Hungary and rescue attempts there, minutes of meetings and reports of relief organizations, licenses of the Department of the Treasury to carry out rescue operations, and many other topics.[24] Open generally for research, the records have only minor access restrictions imposed on them, mainly to protect the right to privacy of individuals. A preliminary inventory and several unpublished lists describe the records.[25]

Closely related to the records of the War Refugee Board is the documentation of the War Relocation Authority, which contains the Oswego Emergency Shelter records. The shelter came into being as a temporary haven for refugees entering the United States outside the immigration quota. About a thousand individuals lived in the shelter after it opened in August 1944. The records document policy, administration, and the operation of the shelter, which housed, among other refugees, a number of Hungarian Jews. Individual case records make up a part of the documentation, and some access restrictions are imposed to protect the right to privacy of the refugees. A preliminary inventory describes the Oswego shelter records.[26]

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency, included among its functions the collection and exploitation of intelligence information. The OSS records contain a large number of documents pertaining to the Holocaust. Some of these consist of reports on Nazi atrocities prepared for the Nuremberg trials. Others relate to the deal arranged by the SS negotiator, Colonel Kurt Becher, with families of wealthy Hungarian industrialists. According to the agreement imposed on the Weiss, Chorin, Kornfeld, Mauthner, and Heinrich families, the SS confiscated their holdings in Hungary and other possessions in exchange for their lives and transportation by plane to neutral Portugal and Switzerland. To ensure that the families would fulfill their part of the forced bargain once they reached neutral territory, the SS kept certain members of the families as hostages.[27] The OSS records contain numerous interrogation reports that bear on the Holocaust. They are largely based on transcripts of the intensive questioning of German prisoners about their knowledge of atrocities.

Although Allied authorities knew of the mass annihilations of the Jews since at least 1942, the exact location and the name of the main camp

[23]Records of the Office of Alien Property, Record Group 131, National Archives.

[24]For examples, see memorandum on Hungary, [June 1944], Folder Hungary I; dossier on the Joel Brand mission, Folder Joel Brand; minutes of meetings and notes of relief organization representatives in the War Refugee Board office in Istanbul, July 10–Oct. 9, 1944, volume 9; Treasury Department licenses for relief and rescue issued pursuant to recommendations of the War Refugee Board, 1944–45, Folder Jewish Labor Committee to Licenses, Records of the War Refugee Board, Records of Presidential Committees, Commissions, and Boards, Record Group 220, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

Overleaf: These Gestapo scrapbook pages depict the deportation of the Jews from Mainz-Franconia area of Germany.

[25]Henry T. Ulasek and Ira N. Kellogg, Jr., comps., *Records of the War Refugee Board*, Preliminary Inventory 43 (1952).

[26]Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210, National Archives; Estelle Rebeck and Martin Rogan, comps., *Records of the War Relocation Authority*, Preliminary Inventory 77 (1955).

[27]OSS Reports 167062 and 169833, Dec. 11, 1944, and Jan. 5, 1945, Records of the Office of Strategic Services, Record Group 226, National Archives (hereinafter cited as RG 226, NA).

Jewish refugee children stand on the deck of the S.S. President Harding *with the lower New York skyline in the background. They were on their way to a Philadelphia estate to await the arrival of their parents.*

kept eluding Allied intelligence collectors. Nonetheless, many strands of information culminated into absolute certainty with the eyewitness account of two escaped inmates from the Auschwitz-Birkenau slave labor and extermination complex in the spring of 1944. The report of the escapees, two Slovakian Jews, Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler, in its English translation, became part of the OSS files in the National Archives. The report details in surprisingly accurate narrative and statistical form the horrors of the extermination process and the terrible conditions the inmates suffered in the slave labor part of the complex.[28]

Minor Accumulations of Holocaust Records

As the Second World War progressed, civilian and military agencies of the United States government increasingly generated records pertaining to the Holocaust. One can find these records scattered throughout many of the record groups

[28]OSS Field Memorandum 257 (FR-425), May 10, 1945, RG 226, NA.

The judges of the United States military tribunals at Nuremburg pose for a formal portrait.

in the National Archives. Most originated with military agencies such as the Army Air Forces, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, and others. Fewer stemmed from civilian agencies, namely the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service and the Office of War Information. Together they illustrate the scattering of minor accumulations of Holocaust records through various record groups. The uniqueness of some of the records adds considerable importance to these small accumulations and makes it necessary to include them in a guide to records of the Holocaust in the National Archives. One must also bear in mind that the records that will be discussed here constitute only examples, and most of these record groups contain other documentation of the Holocaust. The records are generally unencumbered with access restrictions. Finding aids normally pertain to the main functions or objectives of the agencies and often fail to reveal the existence of Holocaust records.

The records of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service include copies, often in both English and German, of monitored anti-Semitic speeches by Hitler and Goebbels as well as speeches by Goering and Himmler during the period 1942 to 1944. A copy of the monitored proceedings of the state funeral accorded Reinhard Heydrich, the dreaded chief of the security police, who was assassinated by Czech patriots in Prague in May 1942, complements this small collection.[29]

The records of the Army Air Forces include World War II combat mission reports of the Fifteenth Photo Reconnaissance Squadron on missions over the Auschwitz, Monowitz, and Birkenau extermination camp complexes from 1944 to 1945. The mission reports allude to locomotives under steam and smokestacks belching out large clouds of smoke. The analysts did not leave any indications on the reports that they realized their interpretations dealt with ongoing exterminations. The records of the Allied Occupational and Operations Headquarters contain similar items, as do documents that are part of the Strategic Bombing Survey.[30]

The records of the Office of War Information contain a number of newspaper clippings and reports related to the Holocaust, including a report from 1940 that outlines the persecution of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland.[31]

One way to reduce the suffering of the Jews could conceivably have included the destruction of the killing machinery through aerial bombardments. The records of the assistant secretary of War include an interesting file of correspondence between John W. Pehle, the executive director of the War Refugee Board, and John J. McCloy, the assistant secretary of war

[29]These records are part of Record Group 262 described in *Records of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service*, Preliminary Inventory 115 (1959).

[30]Mission reports 302 for Aug. 20, 1944, 430 for Nov. 29, 1944, 454 for Dec. 21, 1944, 469 for Dec. 26, 1944, 494 for Jan. 14, 1945, and 505 for Jan. 21, 1945, Records of the Army Air Forces, Record Group 18, National Archives; roll 61, AFQH microfilm, Records of Allied Operational and Occupational Headquarters, World War II, Record Group 331, National Archives.

[31]This report is part of a large information file on Europe for the period 1941–46. Entry 367, H. Stephen Helton, comp. *Records of the Office of War Information*, Preliminary Inventory 56 (1953).

during most of the war years, who later held the positions of military governor and high commissioner for Germany. Pehle requested from McCloy that the Army Air Forces bomb the railroad center at Kaschau and railroads leading from Hungary to Poland, and eventually the murder mills in the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination complex themselves. McCloy rejected the request on the grounds that bombing these targets would necessitate unescorted flying for long stretches, resulting most likely in heavy casualties. Furthermore, considering the general state of the war, the request did not have a sufficiently high priority. McCloy sent his final rejection to Pehle just when the Nazis dismantled the killing machinery in question, which would have made the bombing futile.[32]

Another suggestion to reduce the suffering by bombing was made by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. It requested the Joint Chiefs of Staff to issue a warning to the Nazi government: unless the SS ceased using poison gas in the extermination of Jews, the United States would use poison gas in aerial attacks on German cities. The Joint Chiefs rejected the request on the grounds that the warning would not prevent the Germans from killing the Jews by some other means.[33]

Audiovisual Records

An impressive number of Holocaust records are audiovisual materials and include films, motion pictures, still pictures, and, to a lesser extent, audio tapes. Although many of these records are part of the same record groups listed above and deal with the same topics already discussed, some are unique and have no counterpart among the textual records.

Motion pictures and newsreel film show the persecution of the Jews in Germany during the pre-World War II era, ghetto scenes, propaganda, refugees, concentration camps, and war crimes trials scenes, including Nuremberg trials, U.S. Army trials, and the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem. Other films deal with displaced persons camps and the Jewish Brigade of the British Eighth Army. The vast majority of these films relate to concentration camps and to war crimes trials. The films are well described on index cards, and there is a draft guide to all these films.[34]

No similar guide for still pictures exists. As with films, many of the stills are part of the captured German records and the Nuremberg war crimes trials collections. Others pertain to refugees, concentration camps, and the Lidice Massacre following the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. A unique collection of Holocaust stills is from the *New York Times* Paris Bureau. These photographs from many places in Europe from 1933 into the postwar era show ghettos, refugees, anti-Semitic propaganda, and concentration camps.[35]

Audio tapes consist of anti-Jewish speeches by various individuals, including the infamous Posen speech by Heinrich Himmler in which he outlined extermination to his SS generals. Other tapes cover interrogations of war criminals and trial proceedings.

The foregoing article has demonstrated how records of the Holocaust in the National Archives are scattered throughout various record groups, some with larger accumulations of documents than others. The Holocaust records cover many aspects of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, but the strongest documentation emerges in the areas of punishing the perpetrators, restitution of alienated Jewish property (including art objects and religious items), postwar treatment of Jews in DP camps, and concentration camp atrocities.

Records of the Holocaust in the National Archives are open to research, for authorities have imposed relatively few restrictions on their use, with the exception of the records of the Oswego Emergency Refugee Shelter. Unfortunately, finding aids do not normally point out the Holocaust records in a collection or a record group. However, guides to the motion pictures, records of the Nuremberg trials, and some captured German records describe the Holocaust documentation fully, but in general finding aids are inadequate for the interest the Holocaust commands as a topic of research. No decline of this interest appears anywhere in sight. To facilitate intelligent research, a single finding aid to all the records of the Holocaust in the National Archives would be of great value, especially if it could have a computer-assisted index that offers compatibility with future records compilations of other Holocaust archives. It can be hoped that this article will serve as a first step toward preparation of such a finding aid. □

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[32]Correspondence file ASW 400.38 Jews, Jan. 28–Oct. 5 and Nov. 8–14, 1944, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107, National Archives.

[33]Correspondence file CCs 385.3 (9-16-44), JCS 1072, Records of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, Record Group 218, National Archives.

[34]Charles Gellert, comp., "A Guide to Motion Pictures on Jewish History in the National Archives of the United States: The Holocaust" (draft).

[35]RG 242 and 238; Records of the Office of Government Reports, Record Group 44, National Archives; Records of the United States Information Agency, Record Group 306, National Archives.

Historian's Perspective

Personal Family History: A Bridge to Your Past

BY ALLAN J. LICHTMAN

The twentieth century is the age of alienation. Men and women seem to be alienated from themselves, their families, their friends, and their work. Often neglected, however, is another profound form of alienation—alienation from our own past. Only human beings, the poet Shelley said, "look before and after and pine for what is not." Without looking to our own past we would have little sense of personal identity. Without looking to the past of others, we would have little appreciation of who they are and how we might settle the differences that continue to keep us apart.

One way to bridge the gap between ourselves and our past is to integrate genealogy and history. Genealogists have increasingly sought to explore the historical context of their forebears' lives and to reconstruct complete family trees rather than search for a single, notable ancestor. Historians, in turn, have shifted much of their attention away from great men and epic events to ordinary people and everyday experience. As historian Samuel P. Hays shrewdly observed nearly a decade ago, "developments in these fields [of history and genealogy] are moving in similar directions . . . it is time for the two groups to examine their common ground."[1]

This convergence of history and genealogy points to the emergence of personal family history as a distinct field of inquiry, open to the layperson no less than the trained professional. Personal family history combines the focus of genealogy on the history of one's own family with the emphasis of academic history on gaining a full knowledge of family life and the relationships between families and the world outside. Those who attempt to do personal family history might ask the same questions of their own family that historians would ask of the family groups they study. They would draw upon both the sources of genealogy and the oral histories that family members carry with them. And they would benefit from an acquaintance with historical studies of the family.[2]

Any individual can become a historian of her or his own family. Projects can range from lifetime studies to brief forays into the life of a single ancestor. This article outlines a conceptual frame for personal family history, briefly describes oral history techniques, and surveys the rich cache of family history sources available through the National Archives and Records Service of the United States.

For the genealogist concerned with verifying pedigrees, the family is a web of biological and marital relationships. The main concern is to construct the family tree and to discover basic

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[1]Samuel P. Hays, "History and Genealogy: Patterns of Change and Prospects for Cooperation," *Prologue* 7(Spring 1975):39.

[2]For a brief introduction to the new family history see Allan J. Lichtman, "The Family in American History," in Matthew T. Downey, ed., *Teaching American History: New Directions* (1982). Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, 2d ed. (1978), provides an excellent sampling of scholarly work in the field.

information such as names, places of residence, and dates of births and deaths. For the family historian, however, such data begins rather than completes the process of inquiry. Family historians may pursue distinct themes, depending on how they choose to view the family itself: as a collection of individuals, a residential arrangement, a psychosocial system, an economic unit, or an agent of culture.

The simplest form of family history is the biography of a single ancestor. A biography is more than a recounting of facts about the individual, even when spiced with glimpses of the times in which an ancestor lived. Rather, a biography is history as related through the lives of individuals enmeshed with the forces of their time. Although biographers often thrive on the unique episodes of an individual life, family historians can benefit from a plan for organizing the details of their narratives. *Life course analysis* as pioneered by scholars such as Reuben Hill, Glen Elder, and Tamara Hareven proposes that common phases of life history—marked by definite points of exit and entry—are superimposed on the details of particular biographies.[3] Evidence indicates, for instance, that most American males of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries passed through the transitions of leaving the parental home, marrying, having children, completing some years of education, and entering the workforce. Yet the sequence, timing, and duration of these transitions seems to have become more regular and predictable over the years. As Modell, Furstenberg, and Hershberg explain, "the broad latitude of choice that characterized growing up in the nineteenth century has been replaced today by a more prescribed and tightly defined schedule of life-course organization."[4]

Students of the life course can trace crucial biographical transitions in the lives of their ancestors. Whom did a person marry? What kind of job did he or she take? They can also probe the influences on key turning points in an individual's life. Such inquiry might consider a variety of questions. What were the age-graded expectations of society (for example, for getting married, taking a first job, leaving the home)? What resources were available to an individual? What were his or her goals and commitments? What role models did a person follow? What kinds of historical circumstances did a person confront (for example, a woman might have reached marriageable age at a time when most eligible males were off at war)? Life phases, moreover, are often reversible. Married folks may become single through death or divorce; workers may leave the labor force through personal volition, economic misfortune, illness, or injury.

The patterns of particular lives may also depart sharply from conventional expectations. Historian Joseph Kett, for instance, asks, "What 'patterns' were there in the life of a John Levy, born in the West Indies in 1797, who was bound out as a carpenter's apprentice, became a sailor, was robbed by pirates, was impressed into the British Navy, and there deserted, went into business for himself selling crockery on the Isle of Man, and finally made his way to Boston, all before the age of twenty?"[5] Some unusual individuals—a Frederick Douglass or an Elizabeth Cady Stanton—are even able to reshape the conventions of their times.

The organization of individuals into families creates interdependent paths of life. One common form of interdependence is co-residence in a single household. Early studies of family history concentrated largely on probing the size and composition of households. This emphasis reflected the ordering of historical data according to households as well as the recognition that information about residence reveals much about the circumstances of life within families.

Like the professional scholar, a personal family historian can discern how many people of various kinds lived in ancestral households at different periods of time. Households, like people, follow a life course during which they increase or decrease in size or change in composition. In the words of Professors Hareven and Vinovskis: "Households seem to have been flexible organizations that expanded and contracted at different stages in the family's development, and in response to family or individual migration patterns as well as changing economic conditions." Although demographic studies disclose that the dominant pattern of household structure appears to have been nuclear (just parents and children), they note that "the degree of nuclearity or extension (including other kin as well as boarders, lodgers, and servants) of the household varied . . . over different

[3]See, for example, Reuben Hill, "Methodological Issues in Family Development Research," *Family Process* 3(1964):186–206; Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Family History and the Life Course," *Journal of Family History* 1(1977):279–304; Tamara K. Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time," *Daedalus* 106(1977):57–70.

[4]John Modell, Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., and Theodore Hershberg, "Social Change and Transitions to Adulthood in Historical Perspective," in Gordon, ed., *The American Family*, p. 213.

[5]Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (1977), p. 13.

stages of the family's cycle."[6]

Households in America have tended to be highly mobile. Streams of American migration, beginning in Asia, Africa, and Europe, not only flow across the North American continent but also swirl and eddy within regions, states, and localities. Our people have migrated both to the rural frontiers of western territories and the urban frontiers of new city neighborhoods and suburban towns. For the family historian, the tracing of migration history can be especially revealing and exciting.

The household, of course, provides but a narrow perspective on the family. A more expansive view is gained by considering the family not as a residential unit, but as a psychosocial system of people united by bonds of emotion and mutual obligation. Recent work in psychology, sociology, and anthropology suggest that patterns of behavior and belief arise within families, persist for many years and even reemerge in subsequent generations. The family, observes anthropologist Francis L. K. Hsu, "sets the basic feeling tone and establishes the affective foundation of all subsequent interpersonal patterns."[7]

Exploration of the dynamics of families as psychosocial systems raises a host of fascinating issues, for example: decision-making within the family; family welfare functions; family conflicts; recurring patterns of behavior across generations; sources of family prestige and power; family myths, traditions, and taboos; or sex-role and age-linked responsibilities.

Beyond studying the primary family unit that shares a common household, the personal family historian can investigate the family system that extends to nonresident kin. Relatives residing outside the household may have important places in the family's emotional constellation and set of social relationships. Families, moreover, may not be founded on a primary residence or the conventionally expected roles of mother, father, and other kin. Instead, a family may be dispersed over several households and responsibilities apportioned among individuals not necessarily related by blood.[8]

Families are also economic units that influence both the production and the consumption of goods and services. Despite an increasingly specialized economy, families still perform for themselves such vital services as washing dishes, cleaning house, laundering clothes, and paying bills. Some families still make a portion of their clothing and furniture and grow part of the food they eat. Moreover, the growth of bureaucratic enterprise has failed to stamp out the family operation. Not only have mom-and-pop stores, family farms, and small family-owned firms survived to the present era, but many of our major corporations are heavily controlled by single families. Multigenerational family dynasties such as the Rockefellers and the Hunts also have had profound influences over American economic life.

Decisions made within families may condition people's relationship to the realm of work and business. Historians have found, for instance, that attitudes about the roles appropriate to women within a family sometimes determined whether a woman entered the labor force as well as the kind of job that she would seek. In addition, families may pass on to succeeding generations occupations, skills, and knowledge. Family members may lend one another money, hire each other's children, or pool resources for common ventures.

A family historian may also explore the economic mobility of family members. Economic mobility refers to movement upwards or downwards according to some measure of economic standing, either within or across generations. The traditional version of the American Dream is that people who work hard will improve their position and that industrious children will outdo their parents. Some historians, however, dispute this rosy version of the American experience while others defend its approximate accuracy. In view of this debate, the investigation of economic mobility within one's own family can be an especially intriguing project.[9]

Finally, families can be viewed as cultural agents that nurture values, attitudes, and expectations, passing them on to successive generations. Views of the world developed within the family tend to endure despite people's exposure to external influences in school, at work, and through leisure activities. The historian of family culture can seek to discover how family values are both similar to and different from those

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[6]Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis, "Introduction," in Hareven and Vinovskis, eds., *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America* (1978), p. 16.

[7]Francis L. K. Hsu, "Roots of the American Family: From Noah to Now," in Allan J. Litchtman and Joan R. Challinor, eds., *Kin and Communities: Families in America* (1978), p. 224.

[8]Carol B. Stack, *All Our Kin* (1974).

[9]Stephen Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (1964), is the seminal work influencing the recent study of social mobility. See also John N. Ingham, "Rags to Riches Revisited: The Effect of City Size and Related Factors on the Recruitment of Business Leaders," *Journal of American History* 63(1976):615–637; John E. Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900–1960* (1982).

of the larger society. What kinds of options did family members believe to be open to one another? Mario Puzo, author of *The Godfather*, recalled that his parents' aspirations for him reached no higher than a secure position as a railroad conductor. How did families relate to the inner realm of love, romance, sex, and domesticity? What kinds of moral and religious values did they cultivate? How did families define their ethnicity? What forms of authority and obedience did families teach their children to respect or oppose?

In tracing past lives, the family historian can compare the lives of his ancestors to the group experiences described by historians. Did your great-grandfather travel west in a covered wagon? How did his life compare to the stories told in textbook accounts of the western migration? Did he experience severe hardship in crossing the Rocky Mountains or the Great Plains? Did he carry a gun, join a vigilante group, or live in a western boom town?

This discussion only suggests some of the research possibilities open to the family historian. Other kinds of questions could also be posed by the individual investigator. Most of the questions cited here, moreover, are not susceptible to easy answers. Some, for example, require information about the internal life of families that may be difficult to obtain. Research problems also become increasingly more vexing as inquiry recedes from the present.

But the family historian need not undertake a full-scale, time-consuming project. Families can hold reunions at which relatives are encouraged to swap stories about the family. Members of the family can construct family trees from data that is readily at hand. They can collect family letters, photographs, and objects long possessed by the family. If family roots run deeply into a community, individuals can seek traces of their ancestors in town or church records. Anyone can make a special effort to talk informally with parents and grandparents, asking perhaps for interesting stories and anecdotes about their lives. No matter how small the project it can still be worthwhile to the inquirer and the family.

The more ambitious of family historians can exploit a range of information: not only written documents but artifacts, photographs, movies, and people offer glimpses of past events. The individual and his family may possess unexpectedly rich sources of data—letters, family Bibles, diaries, journals, record books, old furniture, family heirlooms, snapshots, home movies, and even the family dwelling.[10] Public and private depositories—libraries, museums, churches, genealogical and historical societies, state and local governments, and the federal government—contain much additional information.

Oral History

Family historians can usefully begin their research by tapping the memories of living relatives. Oral history is an effort to elicit and record people's recollections of their experiences, their ideas, and their attitudes. All of us carry fascinating historical information which, unfortunately, is typically lost to posterity. By interviewing family members anyone can tap this information and apply it to reconstructing family history. Parents, grandparents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, brothers, and sisters are storehouses of data and insights unavailable anywhere else. Not only can some of the most intriguing questions about one's background be answered by talking to people, but knowledge gained from oral history can also be an invaluable finding aid to written records.[11]

A family historian must first decide what kinds of information will be sought from an individual interview as well as the overall program of oral history that he or she seeks to pursue. The topical approach to an interview probes a particular theme—privacy within the family, social mobility, religion, ethnic allegiance. An autobiographic interview, in contrast, attempts to trace the flow of significant events in the individual's life. Both the family historian and the family member being interviewed could participate in deciding what features of the person's life should be emphasized in the interview.

Regardless of the approach adopted, the family historian must take pains to prepare the family member for the interview. This includes discussing the purpose of the interview, its approximate length, its format, and its general subject matter. The family historian should also try to reach prior agreement with the respondent about the use of the information obtained. But the interviewer should also strive not to make the experience seem too formal or foreboding. Both the family historian and the informant should look forward to the interview as an exciting, shared experience.

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[10]For a guide to home sources see Allan J. Lichtman, *Your Family History: How To Use Oral History, Personal Family Archives, and Public Documents to Discover Your Heritage* (1978), pp. 85–121; and "Papers From Old Sturbridge Village," *Journal of Family History* 6(1981):2–56.

[11]For instruction in oral history see Lichtman, *Your Family History*, pp. 48–84. Paul Thompson, *Voices of the Past: Oral History* (1978), offers a detailed and scholarly analysis of oral history methods.

The success of an interview may turn on the content and the phrasing of the questions that the oral historian asks. Questions should generally be clear, brief, specific, and phrased in simple language. The interviewer should distinguish carefully between questions that seek factual data and those that search for attitudes, feelings, and beliefs. Questions should not reveal the biases of the interviewer, render moral judgments, lead the family member in particular directions, or presume information that should be provided by the respondent. Most questions should be open-ended so that answers cannot simply take the form of "yes" or "no."

Questions should typically be prepared in advance, but the family historian must be prepared to depart from the written script and to probe for additional information or seek elaboration and clarification. Intervention in the interview process, however, must be accomplished with tact and care. The interviewer must be careful not to offend or embarass the family member, make him flustered and confused, or stifle the free flow of thoughts.

A family historian is well advised both to take notes and to tape record an interview. The recorder provides a verbatim report for subsequent reference. Notes can include nonverbal cues, the interviewer's thoughts and impressions, and a summary of the most important findings. Note-taking helps the historian to follow what goes on in an interview and to prepare new and follow-up questions.

Before scurrying to interview family members, the historian should try to pretest planned questions and hone interviewing skills. Practice asking questions of friends or others interested in family history. The result may be not only greater proficiency in oral history, but a refined interviewing scheme.

Oral history gleans the family member's perception of reality, subject to distortions of memory and reporting. Sometimes it is the family member's own view of the world that the historian finds most intriguing. Factual information, however, must be examined for internal consistency and, if possible, cross-checked against independent sources. Names and dates disclosed in oral interviews often provide a basis for locating written materials.

Documentary Research

The family historian who seeks to begin documentary research should heed both the difficulties and the opportunities. The researcher must know where to look for information and how to interpret what he or she finds. The historian must be able to cope with problems raised by forms of handwriting, abbreviations, spelling, naming practices, missing information, and changes in names, boundaries, and currencies. The investigator may have to travel, spend money, and devote time to squinting at musty records. Before beginning documentary research, a family historian should plan the project, become familiar with the localities and time periods being considered, consult guides to genealogical and historical research, and perhaps even attend a course in genealogy or family history. Community colleges, local universities, and state and local historical and genealogical societies are potential sources of information and instruction.[12]

For many family historians, federal records will be the most productive and convenient source of written information. Documents are centrally located in the National Archives and Records Service and its eleven regional branches. Record collections are logically organized, thoroughly described in the agency's *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives* (1982), and sometimes indexed by family name.[13] Events of ancestors' lives that brought them in touch with our national government may have created records for the family historian to exploit. Was a great-grandfather drafted to serve in the Civil War? Did a grandmother pass through federal customs at Ellis Island? Did an ancestor apply for a federal pension, serve in the military, seek land in the public domain, or work for the federal government? Since 1790 the federal government has also regularly conducted a decennial census of the population. The most generally useful collections of federal records include census schedules, passenger arrival lists, naturalization records, military documents, and land records.

If your lineage in the United States extends to 1910 and earlier years, you should be able to find information about your ancestors in the federal census schedules for individual households. Until 1840, census schedules listed the name of only the "head of household." But subsequent

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[12]For instruction in the methods and sources of genealogy see Gilbert H. Doane, *Searching for Your Ancestors*, 5th ed. (1980); Val D. Greenwood, *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy* (1973); Norman E. Wright, *Building an American Pedigree* (1974); Bill R. Linder, *How to Trace Your Family Tree: A Basic Guide to Genealogy* (1980).

[13]This new guide supplants the earlier Meredith B. Colket, Jr., and Frank E. Bridgers, *Guide to Genealogical Records in the National Archives* (1964). Also available free from the National Archives and Records Service are two brief but informative pamphlets: *Genealogical Records in the National Archives*, General Information Leaflet 5, and *Genealogical Sources Outside the National Archives*, General Information Leaflet 6.

reports include the names of other residents (although slaves are not recorded by name in 1850 or 1860) as well as personal data ranging from an individual's birthplace to whether he or she was "crippled, maimed, or divorced." Census schedules through 1910 are open to researchers. By special request you can also obtain information about yourself from schedules after 1910, or information about a deceased person if you are a member of the immediate family or a beneficiary with legal proof of this status.

Census schedules are arranged by state, county, and then by minor subdivision (for example, township or ward). The more detailed your knowledge of where an ancestor resided, the less likely is a tedious search through often obscure handwritten documents. The census reports for 1880, 1900, and for twenty-one states in 1910 (fire destroyed most of the 1890 schedules) are indexed by state and surname. To adjust for variant spellings of the same name, most indexes follow the Soundex system that lists names alphabetically by the first letter and then by a numerical code designed to identify names that sound like one another.

Problems with the use of census data include gaps in the record, mistakes made by enumerators, and misinformation reported by individuals. The listing of people with spellings of a name that could be the same also complicates access to census materials. In using the indexes, for example, you may find dozens of people with identical Soundex codes and the same first name. Unless you had additional information such as the name of a spouse, the date of birth, or the place of residence, you would be unable to choose among these prospective candidates for your family tree. The data sought by the census marshals also varied over time. The historian studying social mobility, for instance, may be disappointed to find that the government tabulated the value of real estate in 1860 and 1870 but not in 1880.

If immigrant ancestors disembarked at a United States port during the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, their arrival may be documented in the passenger arrival records at the National Archives. Customs passenger lists, prepared by a ship's master, usually contain a passenger's name, age, sex, occupation, and country of origin. Immigration passenger lists vary in content. Standard forms adopted in 1893 included name, age, sex, marital status, occupation, nationality, last residence, final destination, data on any previous trips to the U.S., and the name, address, and relationship of any relative that the passenger might be going to join. The Archives lacks records for West Coast ports or for arrivals by land from Canada or Mexico. If, however, an ancestor entered an Atlantic or Gulf Coast port between 1820 and 1945 the odds are pretty good that a record of his or her arrival still exists.

Actually finding your ancestor's record may be difficult, however. For major ports like New York and Philadelphia a daunting search can be avoided only if you already know the name of the vessel and the approximate date of arrival. Knowledge of an exact date of arrival and the port of departure can also substitute for the vessel's name. Many records are indexed, although significant omissions exist (especially for New York). Use of indexes is also facilitated by knowing the vessel line travelled and the approximate date of arrival. Be aware, however, that the current spelling of a family name may not match the spelling used by the official preparing a passenger arrival list.

Federal military records are the most voluminous of all documents relevant to the study of family history. They include records of wartime service and personnel documents for the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marines, and the Coast Guard. In addition, the Archives has draft records, records for the Confederate Army and Navy, and pension application files. Materials for persons who volunteered to fight in the numerous wars and rebellions that punctuated American history from 1775 to 1903 are conveniently organized into compiled records that usually show a soldier's rank, unit, date of entry into service, and the date and nature of his discharge or separation. Various indexes facilitate access to the records for each war or insurrection.

Unlike the composite records of volunteers, the service history of members of the regular military establishment must be pieced together from muster rolls, enlistment and commission registers, military correspondence, and various other documents. Such a search requires the dates of the individual's service and often his unit as well. The most detailed records available for enlisted men disclose a person's age, occupation, personal description, place of birth, enlistment information, and data about termination from the service. Records for officers are likely to offer additional information about the individual's service record. Military records more recent than those maintained by the Archives are located at the National Personnel Records Center in Saint Louis, Missouri, and are subject to various privacy restrictions. Most personal information is available only with the veteran's consent or that of his next of kin if the veteran is deceased.

Among the most revealing of military documents are draft records for the Civil War and

World War I. Civil War draft records, arranged by state and then by enrollment or congressional district, may disclose place of residence, occupation, marital status, country of birth, and physical descriptions. The Archives branch in Atlanta, Georgia, has World War I draft records that include such information as citizenship status, occupation and employer, birthplace, father's birthplace, and name and address of the nearest relative. Knowledge of the individual's local draft board is usually necessary to locate these records.

Perhaps most useful to family historians are records of claims for military pensions. Pension application records are filed under the name of the veteran whether application was made by the former serviceman or his surviving spouse. Pension files are organized into series based upon the period of service and are indexed alphabetically by name. The files include the application of the claimant, supporting documents of identity and service, and evidence of the disposition of the claim. A veteran's application is likely to include name, rank, military unit, period of service, place of residence, birthplace, date of birth, and perhaps the value of the veteran's property. Widow's pensions might include, in addition, her name and residence, her maiden name, the marriage date and place, and the date and place of the husband's death. Supporting documents may include a range of other information including medical history and descriptions of battles and campaigns.

The National Archives and the Bureau of Land Management share records relating to the disposition of land owned by the government of the United States. These records cover all states of the Union except the original thirteen states, Kentucky, Maine, Vermont, West Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, and Hawaii. They include records of cash and credit sales, land granted in return for military service or certain conditions of settlement, and land gained under the Homestead Act of 1862. Few land documents—with homestead records a notable exception—contain more personal information than the individual's name and place of residence. Land records are difficult to research since only scattered name indexes exist. Generally you will need to know at least the approximate location of the land and the approximate date of the transaction. Tractbooks located in the National Archives and the Bureau of Land Management can be used to identify the particular parcels of land for which there are related records. For transactions between July 1, 1908, and May 16, 1973, the Bureau of Land Management has alphabetical indexes that include the appropriate land office and serial application number.

Many other records of the federal government may tell you something about an ancestor's life. The National Archives has records of passport applications from 1795 to 1925 (records less than seventy-five years old may not be used without permission), descriptions of private claims brought before Congress (closed for fifty years), records of the District of Columbia, records of merchant seamen, and records of federal employees (organized by department or agency and closed for seventy-five years). Of special interest to black Americans are records of the Freedmen's Bureau and records pertaining to slaves in the District of Columbia. Native Americans may find traces of their heritage in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Regional branches of the National Archives contain U.S. district court records, pardon and parole records, and records of naturalizations in federal courts. The New York City Branch has an index to naturalization documents filed in the courts of New York City from 1792 to 1906. Inquiries about naturalizations taking place after September 27, 1906, can be addressed to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 Eye Street N.W., Washington, DC 20536.

Records of the National Archives are freely available to all researchers. Archivists do not, however, perform research for individuals or maintain lists of professional genealogists (which can be obtained from the Board for Certification of Genealogists, P.O. Box 19165, Washington, DC 20036). In response to exact identifying data, the National Archives will mail you copies of documents such as compiled service records, census reports, and pension application files. Be forewarned, however, because of recent budget cuts, staff resources are stretched thin. Research by mail or in person will take time; visitors to Washington, DC, should allot several days to the Archives for all but the most modest research plans.

As the previous discussion amply reveals, most federal records pertain to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Written documents relating to other periods or to data unavailable in federal records must be sought in the home, in state and local repositories, or in private institutions. A diligent search might lead to county courthouses in quest of birth, death, and marriage certificates; probate records; and local land records. It may involve the scrutiny of papers kept by churches, schools, fraternal organizations, hereditary societies, and other private institutions. Also relevant are printed sources such as newspapers and directories, history books and genealogical magazines. Researchers visiting the

National Archives should also travel the few blocks to the Library of Congress and consult its matchless collection of published genealogies (indexed by surname) and local histories.

After completing a program of research the family historian may wonder what to do with the accumulated material. A simple choice is just to organize and maintain the data as a mini-archive of personal family history. A more ambitious option is to disseminate the information to interested family members and to arrange family meetings at which research findings can be discussed. The family historian might also decide to write up his or her findings in an essay or perhaps even in a book. The family historian might endeavor to produce a family biography, modeled perhaps on the works written for such notable families as the Adamses or the Rockefellers. He or she might trace a particular theme through the course of family history (for example, the acquisition of wealth) or tell a personal story that relates an understanding of family history to one's sense of identity in the present. A manuscript on family history or a well-ordered set of primary data is a gift that the family historian bestows on both present and future members of the family.

Those engaged in probing their family history need not labor alone. Through their local historical society individuals can set up projects in family history. Such projects enable family historians to share ideas and information and to receive encouragement from others involved in a similar enterprise. The results of individual projects can also be combined to portray the heritage of a local community. In addition, the materials that family historians collect and the manuscripts that they write can be of value to professional historians seeking to learn the often hidden details of family life.

The reconstruction of your own family history can be a uniquely moving experience. Family history may recreate an individual's relationship with parents, grandparents, and other relatives. Without years of academic training, the family historian can know the joy of discovering records long forgotten and of transcribing recollections that would otherwise be lost forever. Everything discovered—the good and the bad—is part of the historian's personal heritage. Ultimately, this process of discovery can help family historians understand and perhaps even change their own view of the world. □

SOURCES at the National Archives for Genealogical and Local History Research

BY RICHARD J. COX • ANNE S.K. TURKOS

Sources *has been developed by the Education Division of the National Archives as a guide to interested researchers of varying levels of expertise. In each issue,* Sources *will focus on the uses of federal records for local and family history research. Many of the records discussed have been microfilmed and are available for use at the National Archives building in Washington, D.C., at its 11 regional branches, or may be purchased. Discussion of how to interpret and analyze federal records, examples of research problems and solutions, and information on related non-federal records will assist researchers in their work.*

Local History Research and the Records of Baltimore's Housing and Community Development Agency

Most experienced researchers are aware of the potential riches for local history of federal records in the National Archives, the Presidential libraries, and the various regional records centers. What they might miss, however, are the federal records in their own backyards—the countless tons of documentation created by state and local governments because of their intricate relationship to the federal government. There are many federally-generated records that will never be used in federal offices, stored in federal records centers, appraised by staff of the National Archives, or made available to researchers through its auspices. And this special brand of federal records is as important, in some cases more significant, to the history of a locality than those preserved in the National Archives. Before considering the records of Baltimore's Housing and Community Development Agency as an example, it would be worthwhile to scrutinize briefly the connection between municipalities and the national government.

The Federal Government and Municipalities

The federal link with municipalities is of recent origin. During the colonial years the municipality was an independent mercantile organization, concerned primarily with encouraging and regulating commerce. This English model, formed by hundreds of years of tradition and experience, disintegrated in the latter half of the eighteenth century as American urban life became more complex and mobile and the new political and economic ideas of the Revolution-

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These Stirling Street row houses were gutted as part of their rehabilitation. Courtesy: Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development.

ary era took hold. In the early nineteenth century the municipality increasingly was subordinated to the state. The rapid growth and changes in urban population of the later nineteenth century, however, pressed at the limits of this inadequate arrangement. Often rural-dominated state legislatures were unable to perceive, let alone resolve, the growing political, social, and health problems of the ballooning metropolises. And most city governments were unable to construct mechanisms capable of resolving local problems, a situation that promoted, in some cases undeservedly, an image of corruption and inefficiency. By the last years of the nineteenth century a municipal reform movement was underway, its chief legacies being the spread of commission government and the rise of professional bureaucrats and scientific municipal management. Throughout these various developments, the federal government generally remained uninvolved in the problems of American city government.[1]

Not until the Depression of the 1930s was a federal-municipal bond cemented. Faced with sudden, severe economic crisis and the threatened imminent default of many larger American cities, municipal officials called on the federal government for both financial aid and leadership. The federal involvement in the American city evolved slowly, resisted at every turn by the strong rural interests and traditions of the national government. But by the early 1960s the federal-municipal relationship seemed secure, and a decade later it was nearly impossible to find a municipality whose budget and bureaucracy were not dominated by federal funds and programs. Only in the early 1980s, with new political leadership from the conservative right, has it appeared that this federal-municipal link might be ripe for significant erosion. Even the new emphasis on a shrinking federalism is unlikely, at least in the short-run, to dismember totally the federal-municipal partnership.[2]

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[1]For readings on this important subject, refer to Jon C. Teaford, *The Municipal Revolution in America: Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1650–1825* (1975); Teaford, *City and Suburb: The Political Fragmentation of Metropolitan America, 1850–1970*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Urban Affairs (1979); Kenneth Fox, *Better City Government: Innovation in American Urban Politics, 1850–1937* (1977); Bradley Robert Rice, *Progressive Cities: The Commission Government Movement in America, 1901–1920* (1977); and Martin J. Schiesel, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1800–1920* (1977).

[2]Mark I. Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933–1965* (1975) is an excellent study of the formation of the relationship between federal and municipal governments.

The same Stirling Street row houses after the completion of the renovation. Courtesy: Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development.

Public housing and urban renewal have been two of the most visible symbols of the relationship between the federal government and municipalities. During the Depression, public housing was a major focus of discussion on the issue of greater assistance to municipalities. The 1937 Housing Act resurrected, on a national scale, the notions of slum clearance and construction of low-cost housing that had been touted by political reformers and progressive intellectuals for four decades. However, the intense opposition of realtors and political conservatives effectively stymied any construction of public housing, with the exception of that built for defense workers under the auspices of the National Housing Agency, established in 1942. Joining the opposition to public housing were professional planners who advocated a more comprehensive economic cure for the ills of urban life. The 1947 consolidation of numerous urban programs into the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) and the Housing Act of 1949 both reflected such a broader perspective. Public housing was now part of a larger urban redevelopment package that attracted planners, reformers, businessmen, and local political leaders. The program expanded even further a few years later, with the Housing Act of 1954, to include rehabilitation and conservation programs.

Nevertheless, the politically and fiscally conservative Eisenhower administration kept the HHFA underfunded and largely ineffective. Only with the later urban-oriented Kennedy and Johnson administrations and the creation, in 1965, of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), an urban agency with federal cabinet status, was there a viable federal-urban partnership able for the first time to enact programs discussed for three decades. Despite periodic fluctuations in both monetary support and presidential commitment to urban affairs, HUD has made the federal presence in American cities appear both stronger and ubiquitous.[3]

Baltimore's Housing and Redevelopment Agency

The changing focus of the federal government upon public housing and urban renewal and redevelopment precipitated numerous changes in the programs of municipal governments. Baltimore is an interesting case in point. Prior to the Housing Act of 1937, Baltimore's attention to

[3]Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities*. For a more concise essay that placed the past half century into the broader issues of this subject, see Richard O. Davies, "One-third of a Nation: The Dilemmas of America's Housing, 1607–1970," in *The National Archives and Urban Research*, ed. Jerome Finster (1974), pp. 41–55.

these issues, like that of most cities, was limited, sporadic, uneven, and always ineffective. From the late eighteenth century to the early years of this century, a jumble of local and state laws relating to housing construction standards and inspections appeared on the books. However, the federal act of 1937 stimulated the creation in Baltimore, in the same year, of the Housing Authority of Baltimore (HABC), the city's first concerted focus on the ever-present urban problem of housing for all residents. The HABC, during its first few years of existence, cleared a large area of slums and constructed low-cost rental housing, a program that was temporarily halted by the onslaught of the Second World War. However, from the end of the war until the mid-1950s, the HABC was only one of the agencies concerned with housing conditions. From the early 1950s on, the Health Department was responsible for housing code inspection; in 1947 a local housing court was created to enforce the housing code. And the previous year had seen the creation of the Land Development Commission (later the Redevelopment Commission), which was empowered to study slum land clearance and its resale to private business developers.[4]

By the early 1950s efforts had begun in Baltimore to coordinate more successfully the various agencies concerned with public housing and, increasingly, urban renewal. In 1954 a coordinating committee was organized, composed of representatives of all the agencies mentioned above as well as the departments of public works, education, and recreation and parks, in an attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of urban problems and a coordinated solution. The passage of the National Housing Act of 1954 encouraged the continuation of this process, leading to the establishment of the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency (BURHA) in 1957. From that year BURHA directed all urban renewal activities in the city, primarily the clearance of slums and new construction. However, a new interest in neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation gradually moved to the fore and BURHA was expanded in 1968 to form a more comprehensive administrative agency, the Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD), that included all the functions of urban renewal, public housing, building inspection, and code enforcement. Reputedly, this consolidation of functions within a single agency was the first of its kind in any city in the United States.

BURHA and its successor, HCD, have been central agencies in the nationally publicized renovation of Baltimore. Their participation in highly visible (and occasionally controversial) programs began in 1958 with the development of the Charles Center business district, which has

[4]HCD administrative files, RG 48, Baltimore City Archives.

Depicted below is an aerial view of Baltimore's famed "Inner Harbor" before renovation. Courtesy: Charles Center—Inner Harbor Management, Inc.

also included hotels and a theatre in its reconstruction. During the mid-1960s the agency also became involved in the funding of the inner harbor redevelopment that included office buildings, apartments, hotels, the pavilions of the Rouse Company's Harborplace, theatres, and the National Aquarium—all forming the showplace of Baltimore in the 1980s. And, just as importantly, HCD was the developer of the "one-dollar house" program, a vast effort to rehabilitate existing housing stock using low-cost loans and tax incentives. Apart from the executive office of the City, BURHA and HCD have been the single most important factor in the highly-touted renaissance of Baltimore in the past quarter of a century.[5]

Because of the pivotal role of these agencies in the post-war development of Baltimore, the HABC-BURHA-HCD records[6] are of tremendous importance to local and urban historians. Their most obvious value, of course, and one that will not be emphasized in the remainder of this essay, is for the administrative and institutional history of the agency itself. The object of an intensive records survey in 1981–82 funded by a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, these records were found to be remarkably complete. More than five hundred individual series were located, encompassing approximately ten thousand cubic feet and documenting every phase of HCD activities and responsibilities over nearly half a century of existence. More than five hundred cubic feet of these records were judged to have permanent value and were immediately transferred to the Baltimore City Archives; more are scheduled to be transferred soon under the agency's records management program. With the majority of the key HCD administrative files intact and available for research, along with other holdings of the Baltimore City Archives, the evolution of public housing and urban renewal and redevelopment can be easily traced, research only hindered perhaps by the considerable bulk of the records. However, these files are also important for more specialized aspects of Baltimore historical research, such as the visual documentation of the city, the growing public support for the preservation of the older neighborhoods and the ubiquitous rowhouses, the changing economic condition of the city, and the role of the municipal government in revitalizing the city's

[5]Numerous recent articles have examined various phases of Baltimore's renaissance. For example, see Michael Demarest et al., "He Digs Downtown [James Rouse's Harborplace]," *Time* 118 (Aug. 24, 1981):42–48, 53; M. Beck and J. Whitmore, "Baltimore's Comeback," *Newsweek* 93 (Jan. 15, 1979):34–35; "Vacant slums spell opportunity in Baltimore," *U.S. News and World Report* 85 (Dec. 25, 1978):75–76; and "New market complex with the vitality of an old landmark: Harborplace in Baltimore," *Architectural Record* 168 (Oct. 1980):100–105.

[6]The agency will hereafter be called HCD, including, however, in the meaning its predecessor units.

This aerial view shows the dramatic changes that have taken place in the Inner Harbor area in recent years. Courtesy: Charles Center—Inner Harbor Management, Inc.

self-image. In addition, many of these records are unusually valuable for social history, because of both their content and the wide-ranging role of their creator agency, a value not characteristic of institutional and governmental documents.[7]

Photographs and the Documentation of the Cityscape

The first area of research for which the HCD records are unusually valuable is the documentation of the appearance of the city's neighborhoods. Unlike most locally available collections of urban photographs that consist of specific family scenes and streetscapes, the various series compiled by HCD are comprehensive, systematic efforts to document visually entire sections of the city. Prepared for use in the initial planning stages of both public housing and urban renewal projects, these records often offer property-by-property coverage of the designated areas, revealing through both photographs and accompanying descriptive data the nature of the area before the significant change wrought by the municipal government.

One such series consists of the surveys done by the Housing Authority of Baltimore City from 1937 to 1957 prior to the construction of various public housing projects throughout the city. The primary purpose of these surveys was to determine the values of land and structures lying within the boundaries of the project areas. This was achieved through the compilation, for each address, of information concerning the number of buildings, zoning, usage, dimensions, appraised value, number of rooms, type of construction, plumbing, utilities, and any special or unusual features. But the visual documentation attached to each survey sheet and memorandum of settlement enables the researcher to reconstruct the outward appearance of entire areas that were razed to make way for the erection of public housing units. Although not designed with such a purpose, these files provide the most comprehensive set of data about housing stock, architectural features and values, and urban lifestyle available for Baltimore.

An early housing project of particular interest is the Edgar Allan Poe Homes, so named because the project abuts the house in which the internationally famous author resided while briefly in Baltimore. The Poe Homes are significant for several reasons, first because planning for the project began in 1938, only one year after the housing authority was formed, and secondly, because it was only through the efforts of the housing authority that the Poe House was preserved as a literary and historical landmark. The survival of the Poe House in the face of wholesale slum clearance was a milestone of Baltimore's historical preservation movement, a movement formalized in the creation of the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHA) in 1964 after two decades of sporadic activity. From the formation of this commission until the present, the campaign for preservation has remained small but has grown steadily.

HCD and the Preservation of the City

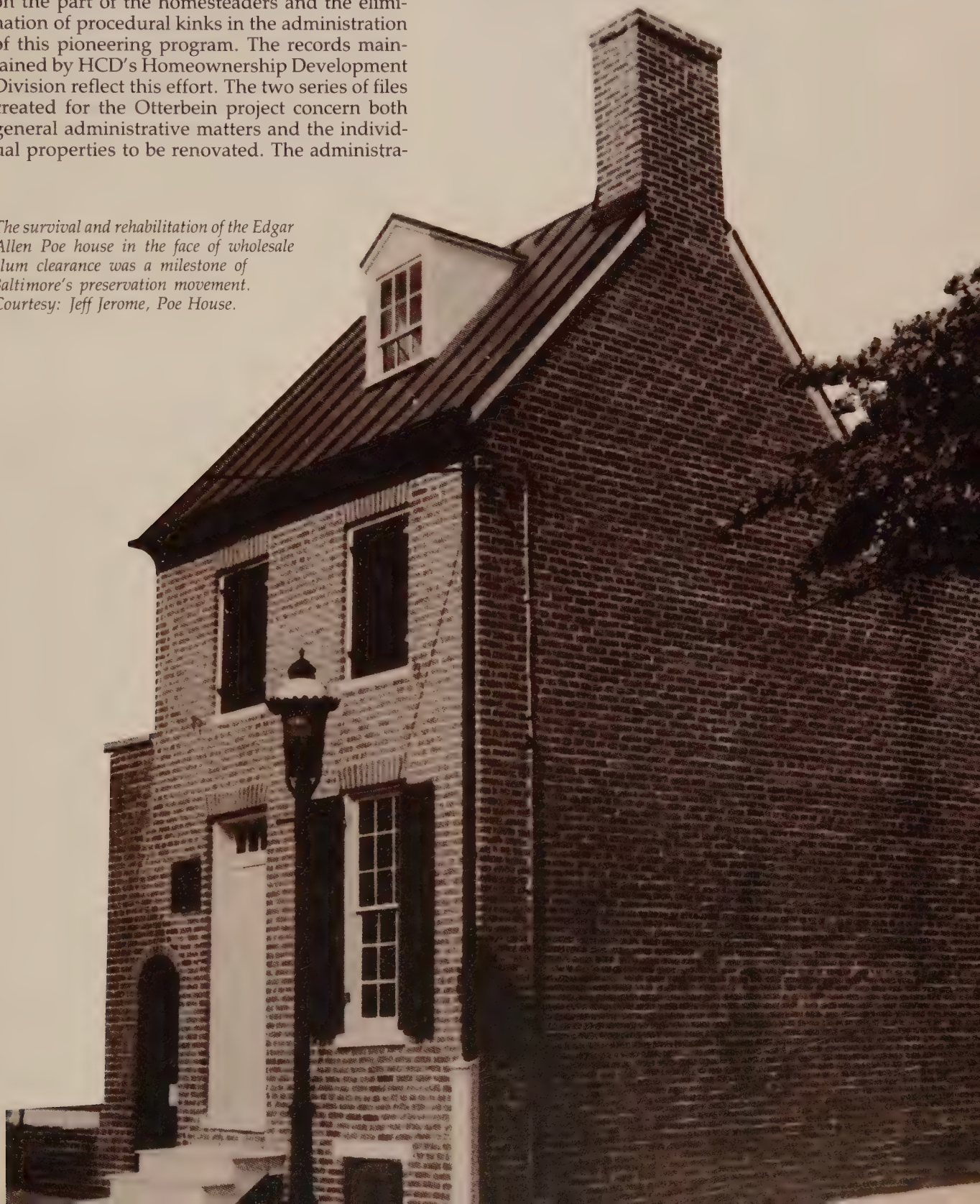
HCD has played an important role in the growth of this campaign, generating wide public interest with its efforts to preserve existing housing stock and its nationally recognized "dollar house" program. These various projects are well documented in the agency's records. Loans made to individual property owners for rehabilitation purposes, wide-ranging renovation of city-owned structures for resale or rent to low-income families, and conversion of vacant schools into apartments for public housing tenants are only three among many such programs.

The "dollar houses," however, have attracted the most publicity and have been one of HCD's most successful renovation projects. Formally known as the Urban Homesteading Program, the innovative scheme was designed to renew historic areas of the city that had deteriorated deplorably while reaffirming the commitment of city residents to urban living. Otterbein, the first area to be homesteaded, was originally subdivided in 1782 and settled by persons in the shipbuilding trade. After the 1904 Baltimore fire, the homes were largely taken over by East European immigrants, but rumored highway construction and other urban renewal projects led to increasing vacancies in the area and rampant dilapidation of the buildings. This interesting housing stock, built between 1820 and 1870, was originally scheduled for demolition under the 1969 Inner Harbor West Urban Renewal Plan; but rehabilitation was not considered feasible given the economic conditions and government programs in existence at that time. Four years later, however, various circumstances had changed, and the city government gave its enthusiastic support to the "dollar house" program, conceived and supervised by Mayor William Donald Schaefer and then Housing Commissioner Robert Embry, Jr., in which homes were sold, by

[7]Frederic M. Miller, "Social History and Archival Practice," *American Archivist* 44 (Spring 1981):113–124.

lottery, for one dollar to persons who agreed to renovate them and reside there at least two years.

The changes in Otterbein were spectacular and dramatic but achieved only after much hard work on the part of the homesteaders and the elimination of procedural kinks in the administration of this pioneering program. The records maintained by HCD's Homeownership Development Division reflect this effort. The two series of files created for the Otterbein project concern both general administrative matters and the individual properties to be renovated. The administrative records chronicle the progress of rehabilitation through correspondence, newspaper clippings, drawings, and the working papers of the architectural review committee established to enforce



The survival and rehabilitation of the Edgar Allen Poe house in the face of wholesale slum clearance was a milestone of Baltimore's preservation movement. Courtesy: Jeff Jerome, Poe House.

the design standards developed jointly by the Otterbein homesteaders and the city through the review of interior and exterior drawings. The second series, property files, do not provide much, if any, information about the history of the site, but rather record the actual renovation through such documentation as estimates of work to be done, copies of contracts for rehabilitation, lease agreements, drawings, appraisal reports, legal descriptions of the property, rehabilitation loan applications, case histories, homesteading applications, releases of liens, and certificates of completion.

While neither series provides a large quantity of information about the history of the Otterbein area and its present and former residents, their significance in other local history inquiries is unquestionable. Through comparisons drawn between this most visible, early homesteading project and later housing renewal efforts, one can study shifts in the attitude and approach of the municipal government toward the revitalization of the city's neighborhoods. And the Otterbein project can also be seen as clear evidence of the demise of the "improvement through wholesale destruction" concept of urban renewal. The transition of HCD from negative functions—the cleansing of diseased sections of the city—to positive, innovative responsibilities is clearly reflected in these records, and the agency was typical of the transformation in this municipal government's approach in the 1970s and 1980s.

HCD and the Economic Vitality of the City

Just as HCD has been instrumental in revitalizing residential life in Baltimore City, it has also had a central role in the economic life of the municipality—encouraging firms to remain inside the city limits, even when displaced by urban renewal, mass transportation, or public housing projects, and facilitating the establishment of new, small businesses through shopsteading.

The commercial relocation files, for one example, document both the economic composition of the various project areas before renewal and HCD's efforts to move displaced businesses to suitable sites. The records chronicle the entire course of the relocation process, from initial appraisal to final settlement on claims for relocation payments. Types of documentation to be found in these records include summaries of interviews, drawings of sites, tenancy check lists, photographs, moving cost estimates, appraisals, determinations of eligibility for assistance, and listings of potential comparable sites. These case files constitute graphic evidence of the impact of displacement upon the project area and the subsequent effect of the rehabilitation efforts. Did the displaced businesses better their lot by moving to a new site or did they close after several unsuccessful years? Did new businesses move into the project area to utilize renovated facilities or to take advantage of economic opportunities? Did the economic orientation of the area change, from industrial complex to small business, from mom-and-pop stores to trendy boutiques? The commercial relocation records provide the "before" picture, documentation essential for research into a myriad of neighborhood, economic, and urban history questions.

One element of the "after" picture consists of the loan files maintained by HCD's Commercial Revitalization Division. In an effort to rejuvenate the city's small business community, HCD pro-

Baltimore has always taken pride in its row house neighborrow houses as part of a clean up campaign in the 1930s. Cour-

vides loans to qualified persons for improvements to any commercial or mixed-use property or for shopsteading, the commercial equivalent of homesteading. These projects are naturally centered in the various urban renewal areas, but loans are made for sites throughout the city. The loan files unite property, financial, and construction records for each project into one series and contain such documentation as title reports, memorandums of settlement, property conveyances, copies of mortgages and deeds, "as-is" property appraisals, copies of insurance policies and loan applications, maximum loan limit calculations, personal financial statements and copies of applicant's tax returns, orders to proceed, copies of contracts for rehabilitation construction and contract extensions, lists of rehabilitation standards, correspondence, and photographs.

Both the commercial relocation records and the loan files are valuable for understanding the economic life of the city and its individual communities. They provide raw data concerning the types of businesses in existence and the financial commitments involved in their operation. They underscore the role of economic revival in Baltimore's urban renewal. And they contain information which, used in conjunction with the various series of records that document the residential components of an area, can provide a complete picture of a community and its transitions. Such information is unavailable through such other standard sources as personal papers, commercial and organizational archives, and newspapers.

hoods. Depicted below are children scrubbing the steps of local tesy: Bodine Collection/The Peale Museum, Baltimore.

HCD Records and the Lives of Baltimore's Residents

The residential records themselves are particularly valuable in light of the recent and increasing emphasis on social history. Several series—structural and building conditions surveys, residential relocation records, and public housing and Section 8 tenant files—have great potential research value. The structural and building conditions surveys illustrate the status of housing for the low-income urban homeowner before renewal. Conducted between 1957 and 1968, the surveys were designed to determine the feasibility of renovating slum dwellings in selected urban renewal areas. The structural surveys (1957–67) document the initial planning stages of urban renewal and provide information concerning the number of stories and dwelling units, rental income, needed repairs or alterations, market value, mortgage payments, and cost for purchase by BURHA, HCD's predecessor agency. In addition, this series contains some administrative records relating to the rudiments of the survey, such as maps, correspondence, cost estimates, and land use and environmental block surveys. The building condition surveys are similar to the structural surveys in intent but provide more detailed information. Compiled over a two-year period, 1966–68, these surveys analyze the type of construction, building use, occupancy, defects, and interior and exterior conditions, and conclude with a general condition rating. Maps displaying present and future building use also appear occasionally.

Both series of surveys are crucial to an understanding of the personal impact of urban renewal on low-income residents and their neighborhoods. Without the documentation of preexisting conditions, the researcher cannot determine the effects of the subsequent changes on the character of the population and its stan-

This is the Baltimore skyline before the renovation of the Charles Center area. Courtesy: Charles Center—Inner Harbor Management, Inc.

dard of living. While many of the structures included among the surveys were rehabilitated, others have been destroyed to make way for such projects as the Community Mental Health Center, Charles Center, and the Camden Industrial Park. The residents of these buildings have been relocated, as have residents from other areas who have been displaced by public housing, federal road construction, or urban renewal projects. In aiding their relocation, HCD created an extensive series of case files documenting this process of change. Aid to displaced persons could consist of assistance in finding acceptable accommodations that meet the family's needs and financial limitations, in satisfying a family's rental obligations, and in selecting a moving company. The family could also receive partial reimbursement for moving costs.

The typical relocation file contains summaries of interviews, correspondence, drawings, relocation property verification sheets, occupancy survey cards, tenancy check lists, claims for residential relocation payments and recommendations concerning those claims, work orders, receipts, certifications for fixed relocation payments, site office relocation records, photographs, memoranda of settlement, deeds, nonresidential activity notices, site occupancy reports, and other working papers chronicling the process of relocation. These case files provide extensive information on the immediate impact of displacement on the individual family units. Was the transformation uneventful or was it fraught with dissatisfaction, frustration, or anger? Did the family actually improve its living situation? Did the ultimate effect of the project on the area justify the massive uprooting that facilitated its completion? And what was the impact on the neighborhoods into which the relocated persons moved? In addition, a researcher can develop comparative lines of questioning since the residential relocation files have been preserved from many areas and different projects for more than thirty years.

The data contained in these files also suggest other potential research topics, such as the composition of the Baltimore urban family and the financial impact of urban renewal on individuals and governmental agencies. Tenancy check lists and occupancy survey cards, supplemented at times by information from property records or interviews, help to delineate the relationships between the persons residing in the home. And collectively, the information concerning relocation payments, reimbursement of moving expenses, and property settlements can provide an interesting perspective on the costs of Baltimore's urban renewal.

The final series of records valuable for social history inquiries are the Section 8 and public housing tenant files. Section 8, considered to be an alternative to public housing, is a program of federally subsidized housing administered by the local housing authorities. Tenants in privately owned housing pay up to one fourth of their monthly income for rent and HUD makes up

the difference between this amount and the landlord's established rent. The records that document the various phases of this program contain significant amounts of data concerning individuals and families in the form of applications, housing assistance payments, worksheets and contracts, summaries of interviews, information concerning verification of tenants' income, and other related materials. The public housing tenant files are similar in content to those for the Section 8 program and concern all phases of the tenants' occupancy, from security deposits to termination reports, from dwelling leases to notices of neglect of premises. The primary differences between the two series are their volume and consequently their documentation of low-income residents. Traditional public housing has been a component of Baltimore's residential picture since the late 1930s and at present the housing authority administers more than thirty housing projects. As a result, more than one thousand cubic feet of tenant files have been generated, many of which originated in the earliest days of public housing in Baltimore. On the other hand, Section 8 is a relatively recent creation; these records date from only the mid-1970s, and they amount to only 14 percent of the bulk of the conventional public housing files.

Together these two series form a valuable corpus of information for social historians who, while dealing with the difficulties inherent in their confidentiality, can still use them for many research inquiries. The tenant files are particularly significant in studies of the impact of urban life on low-income residents, the effects of the public housing environment on the family, and the success of the alternatives to that environment. These records trace the changing profile of the tenants from the beginnings of public housing in Baltimore to the present. And they reflect the

The impact of the Charles Center project can be seen in this recent picture of the downtown skyline. Courtesy: Charles Center—Inner Harbor Management, Inc.

influences of variations in public housing philosophy. The public housing and Section 8 tenant files have the capability of providing the social historian with the answers to these and many other questions, of serving as the springboard for the field's ever-broadening focus of research.

HCD and the Renewal of the City's Image

Finally HCD records are crucial for a researcher to understand the role of Baltimore's municipal government in revitalizing the city's self-image. Dramatic changes in the complexion and outlook of the city and its residents began in the 1950s with the creation of the renovationist Greater Baltimore Committee and the impetus for construction of the Charles Center, a high-rise office and residential development built on thirty-three prime center city acres. This push towards a vital, resilient, glamorous image has culminated in the wide-ranging Inner Harbor redevelopment. Concentrating on a two-hundred-fifty acre site that was once the epitome of Baltimore's decrepit downtown—filled with rotting wharves, warehouses, and railroad yards—developers, with the encouragement of the municipal government, have transformed this area into the focal point of the entire city. Home of Harborplace, the National Aquarium, the Maryland Science Center, the World Trade Center, the Convention Center, an outdoor concert pavilion, and a summer-long parade of ethnic festivals and other entertainment features, the Inner Harbor has generated jobs, tax revenues, and an ever-increasing flow of tourists to mingle with the Baltimore residents who are proud of their city's new look and national and international reputation.

The emphasis on revitalization is evident throughout the city in its many neighborhoods which too have been reborn. But nowhere is this emphasis stronger than in the Inner Harbor. And the projects that constitute this urban renewal area are well documented in HCD's files. The block-by-block, building-by-building study of the harbor area, completed between 1958 and 1965, provides an excellent profile of the Inner Harbor before its rebirth as the city's showplace. The survey, originally conducted to determine the feasibility of renovating the slum dwellings in the area, contains information outlining building use, size, rental rates, structural deficiencies, and projected costs of rehabilitation.

This detailed "before" documentation complements the equally detailed project files and drawings and maps maintained by Charles Center–Inner Harbor Management, Inc. (CC-IH), a private, nonprofit corporation established by BURHA in 1965 to administer the numerous and increasingly complex individual projects underway and anticipated in the Charles Center and Inner Harbor urban renewal areas. Working on contract with Baltimore City, CC-IH acts as an intermediary between the municipal government and the various contractors involved in the redevelopment projects, from the design phase through the final construction inspections. The project files maintained by the corporation are voluminous and contain all correspondence, copies of contracts and leases, appraisals, studies and reports, related federal regulations or municipal ordinances, project manuals, preliminary title reports, newspaper clippings, and other assorted working papers related to the individual project.

The extensive series of drawings and maps generated by CC-IH staff and project architects reinforces the project file record. Dating from the formation of the corporation, these materials thoroughly chronicle the development of the two urban renewal areas, all individual projects, major and minor, and the increasing significance of both sections to the city as prime commercial and economic centers as well as major tourist attractions. As with the project files, all stages of evolution of a project are revealed, from routine plats and topographical and utility maps to architects' conceptions and preliminary, working, and final construction drawings.

The harbor study, project files, and drawings and maps form an invaluable corpus of data for the study of the areas that have been the key to Baltimore's renaissance. They also serve as conclusive and overwhelming evidence of the financial and psychological commitment of the municipal government to revitalizing the deterioration at the center of the city and its considerably tarnished image.

The Importance of Municipal Government Records to American Urban History Research

The above review was designed to reveal the importance that routine municipal government records can possess for recapturing the history of the American city. None of the records described were created with a long-term historical value in mind. The photographer taking pictures of the soon-to-be-demolished rowhouses probably never conceived that historians would one day be interested in their architecture, amenities, or the lives of their residents. The old survey records of the Inner Harbor of Baltimore, in fact, have only now acquired added value because of this area's renewed importance to the

life of the city.

Despite the increasing significance of such municipal records to our understanding of urban life, their preservation is by no means common. Baltimore has one of only a handful of effective records administration programs in the country that is concerned with both managing and preserving the historical records of our cities. Although Baltimore's records program is now nearly thirty years old, the genesis of the survey and cataloging of the HCD records here described is still largely attributable to a federal funding agency, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Ironic though it may seem that local records whose creation was subsidized by federal monies must also be preserved by federal grants, it is sadder still to realize that despite the great stimulation of NHPRC projects for the preservation of such records so much remains to be done. American municipal records continue to be neglected by the governments themselves as well by the historical and archival professions. In a recent archival self-assessment and planning project (again, sponsored by the NHPRC) performed in twenty-seven states, the concern for American municipal records was hardly evident.[8] Records like those of Baltimore's Housing and Community Development agency must be maintained if we wish to understand the meaning of urban life in the United States. □

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[8]For further reading on this problem, see Richard J. Cox, "A Reappraisal of Municipal Records in the United States," *Public Historian* 3 (Winter 1981):49–63.

ACCESSIONS AND OPENINGS

The administrator of general services is authorized by law to accept for accessioning as part of the National Archives of the United States the records of a federal agency or the Congress that the archivist of the United States judges to have sufficient historical or other value to warrant their continued preservation by the U.S. government. In addition, certain personal papers and privately produced audio-visual materials that relate to federal activities may also be accepted. Normally, only records at least twenty years old are considered for transfer; the chief exceptions are essential documentary sources of federal actions and the records of terminated agencies. Classified information more than twenty years old that originated with U.S. authorities will be viewed and declassified unless it falls within one or more of the categories of information which must be examined by experts of the originating or responsible agency.

Researchers should address any questions about recently accessioned, opened or declassified records to the unit holding them and should bear in mind that other restrictions may prevent the release of some of the records though they have been declassified.

CIVIL ARCHIVES

Records of the Atomic Energy Commission

The Atlanta Archives Branch has accessioned 576 cubic feet of the records of the Atomic Energy Commission. All are from the Oak Ridge facility in Tennessee, except for one foot from the Savannah River Plant in Aiken, South Carolina. Many of these records predate the establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. In this early period, the American atomic energy program consisted of the highly secret Manhattan Project to develop the atomic bomb, conducted by the Manhattan Engineer District of the Army Corps of Engineers. These records document the atomic bomb program and the development of civilian uses of nuclear energy. A substantial portion of the records pertain to the construction and management of the city of Oak Ridge, which was planned, developed, and managed by the federal government.

The records consist of correspondence from the following: Production and Energy Construction Branch, 1947–49 (19 cubic feet); Production Plant Construction Branch, 1947–50 (18 cubic feet); Assistant Manager for Public Education, 1944–68 (95 cubic feet); Washington Liaison Office, 1942–46 (4 cubic feet); Oak Ridge Operations Office, 1943–50 (182 cubic feet); Chicago Operations Office, 1950–61 (45 cubic feet); Office of Community Affairs, 1943–60 (95 cubic feet); New York Operations Office, 1950–61 (60 cubic feet); Research and Medicine Division, 1944–50 (20 cubic feet); and Feed Materials Division, 1947–54 (28 cubic feet). Also included are Issuances from the Manhattan Engineering District, 1946–47 and 1954–56 (8 cubic feet), and other related records. (Record Group 326).

Records of the U.S. District Courts

The Atlanta Archives Branch has recently accessioned records from the United States District Courts in Alabama and Georgia, with descriptions of the court records from those states. The branch's holdings now include 4,290 cubic feet from Alabama and 4,850 cubic feet from Georgia. Preliminary inventories have now been completed on the court records from these two states and from South Carolina. These records are in the custody of the Archives Branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center, East Point, Georgia. (RG 21).

Records of the Department of State

The Legislative and Diplomatic Branch has accessioned 10 cubic feet of Standardized Regulations for Government Civilians in Foreign Areas, 1948–61, General Records of the Department of State. This is the official Department of State file of regulations governing allowances for living quarters and cost-of-living allowances for American Foreign Service officers and employees as well as civilian employees of other government agencies serving abroad. In addition to the regulations, related clearances, authorizations, and background material are included. These records are in the custody of the Legislative and Diplomatic Branch of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. (RG 59).

Records of the National Park Service

The San Bruno Archives Branch recently accessioned 184 cubic feet of records, 1913–66, from the San Francisco Regional Office of the National Park Service. The records include ranger

activity reports, land purchase information, naturalist reports, engineering field notes, and regional classified program records from national parks and monuments in California, Washington, Oregon, Texas, Hawaii, Alaska, Idaho, and Wyoming. This material is in the custody of the Archives Branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center, San Bruno, California. (RG 79).

Records of Temporary Committees, Commissions, and Boards

The Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch has accessioned the records of the National Commission on Student Financial Assistance, 1980–83 (10 cubic feet). The commission was established by Public Law 96-374 in October of 1980 to study issues related to student financial assistance. Among the records accessioned are a background paper on guaranteed student loans and four published studies on the elimination of in-school interest subsidies, insurance premiums charged to borrowers, the special allowance formula, and satisfactory academic progress standards. An additional 40 reports remain unpublished. This material is in the custody of the Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. (RG 220).

Records of the Tennessee Valley Authority

The Atlanta Archives Branch continues to increase its holdings of records of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which now total 794 cubic feet. Recently accessioned administrative records include files of the first two chairmen of TVA's board of directors: A. E. Morgan, 1933–38 (45 cubic feet and 44 rolls of microfilm), and David E. Lilenthal, member of the board, 1933–41, and chairman of the board, 1941–46 (77 cubic feet). Also accessioned were the Knoxville Central Files, 1933–40 (700 rolls of microfilm, fully indexed), which contain agency correspondence from 1933 to 1939 and the administrative releases and announcements of the Division of Property and Services, 1922–39 (16 rolls of microfilm).

Program records include Office of Engineering Design and Construction reports and histories of engineering projects, 1934–75 (314 cubic feet), which document the design and construction of TVA structures, including locks, dams, buildings, and powerhouses.

Other TVA program records accessioned are: Division of Property and Services records relating to family and institutional readjustment, 1933–53 (79 cubic feet), which contain social, economic, and cultural information about families affected by TVA dam and reservoir projects; Records Relating to the Lend-Lease Program to the Soviet Union, 1942–45 (19 cubic feet), which contain material dealing with the installation of dams in the Ural Mountains; Division of Forestry, Fisheries and Wildlife Project History Files, 1933–35 (66 cubic feet), which pertain to land improvement and erosion control projects; Land Planning and Housing Division Materials (cartographic records), 1934–36 (16 cubic feet), which include a cross-sectional survey of the Great Valley of East Tennessee; Division of Navigation and Regional Studies Records, 1933–36 (16 cubic feet), which contain studies of education, taxation, agriculture, life-style, health, and economics; and correspondence of the Division of Health and Safety, 1938–73 (23 cubic feet), dealing with TVA's responsibility regarding health and safety problems for the region and the agency.

The branch has also accessioned records of the Commerce Department of TVA, 1937–48; the Agricultural Industries Division, 1933–39; and the Correlating Committee, 1939–52 (total 43 cubic feet), which document the TVA program to develop and expand agricultural production and industries in the Tennessee Valley. (RG 142).

Records of the United States Information Agency

The Legislative and Diplomatic Branch in Washington, D.C. has accessioned 5 cubic feet of Research Reports on German Public Opinion, 1949–59, Records of the United States Information Agency. These reports were prepared in the Office of Public Affairs of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG) and by the U.S. Information Service in Bonn after the termination of HICOG. They document American analyses of German opinion on various domestic and foreign policy issues during the 1950s. (RG 306).

MILITARY ARCHIVES

Records of the United States Marine Corps

The Military Service Branch has accessioned 140 cubic feet of personnel files documenting the military service of U.S. Marine Corps enlisted personnel, 1867–1904. Approximately 6,000 individual files are arranged alphabetically by the initial letter of the surname of the enlisted man. Each service record may contain one or more of the following documents: conduct record, physical description, enlistment and reenlistment papers, notice of discharge, report of medical survey, service report, and military history.

Although this accession covers enlistments and reenlistments from 1867 to 1904, the bulk of the files are for individuals who served around the

turn of the century, and some contain documentation of Marine Corps service beyond 1904. These records are in the custody of the Military Service Branch in Washington, D.C. (RG 127).

PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

Herbert Hoover Library

The Hoover Library has opened the papers, 1907–66 (3 cubic feet), of Maurice Pate who capped a long career in humanitarian enterprises which began with the Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1916–17, as the first director of UNICEF, 1946–64. Correspondence, memoranda, reports, and diaries relating to the relief of Belgium, Poland, and Russia, Red Cross services to American prisoners of war in Europe during World War II, the world famine relief survey of 1946, and the establishment and subsequent activities of UNICEF are included in these papers. Pate materials at the Hoover Library include copies of documents given to Princeton University.

The papers, 1876–1941 (12 cubic feet), of James P. Goodrich, Indiana's wartime governor, 1917–21, were opened. The papers contain numerous files reflecting his interest in state and national politics dating primarily from his election as Chairman of the Republican Central Committee in 1907 through his governorship to the early weeks of Wendell Wilkie's campaign in 1940. Goodrich also served as a trustee of the American Relief Administration and was selected by President Harding to inspect the ARA's Russian famine relief activities in 1921–23.

Also opened for research are the papers, 1917–78 (53 cubic feet), of Walter Trohan, former chief of the *Chicago Tribune*'s Washington bureau and close friend of Col. Robert R. McCormick. In addition to extensive correspondence files, the collection contains transcripts of Trohan's radio broadcasts, copies of his daily column, drafts of *Jim Farley's Story* (which Trohan ghostwrote), and drafts of *Political Animals,* his memoirs.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

John Toland has deposited research materials and correspondence (7 cubic feet) relating to his book, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (1982), in the library.

The library has opened additional papers of Isador Lubin (75 cubic feet) covering the period 1935 to 1971. The papers include Lubin's files as New York State Industrial Commissioner, 1955–59, and additions to his personal correspondence, his correspondence as commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and as special assistant to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and his papers as representative on the United Nations Economic and Social Council. These papers also include a very small amount of correspondence with W. Averell Harriman, 1953–61; the files of James S. Lanigan, 1950–52, as administrative assistant to Harriman when Harriman was mutual security administrator; and records relating to Harriman's bid for the nomination as the Democratic Party's presidential candidate in 1956.

The Library has also opened the papers of the Hudson River Conservation Society (20 cubic feet) for the period 1936 to 1979. The society is a private, non-profit organization concerned with the protection of the environment of the Hudson River Valley in New York State.

Harry S. Truman Library

The Truman Library has accessioned additional papers (6 cubic feet) of Myron M. Cowen, who served as U.S. Ambassador to three countries, namely, Australia, 1948–49; the Philippines, 1949–51; and Belgium, 1952–53. The papers consist mainly of scrapbooks pertaining to his service in the Philippines and Belgium. Also included are several volumes of Mrs. Cowen's scrapbooks and a small amount of correspondence relating to Cowen's tenure as Ambassador to the Philippines.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library has recently accessioned additional papers, 1983, of Margaret Chase (Mrs. Giovanni Camajani) consisting of the galley proof of her memoirs, *Never Too Late,* published in 1983, and additional papers, 1957–58, of Evan P. Aurand, consisting of three oversized scrapbooks compiled by Aurand's office while he was serving as naval aide to President Eisenhower.

Reviewing of the JFD Chronological Series of the papers of John Foster Dulles has recently been completed and the series is now open for research. It consists of 7 feet of carbon copies of Dulles's outgoing correspondence from December 1952 through May 1959.

Ten National Security Council policy papers on South Asia, totalling 270 pages, dating from 1954 to 1960, have recently been declassified in part. They are from the Records of the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries. Two reports on Poland, totalling 57 pages and dating from 1958 and 1959, have also been declassified in part in that subseries.

Four reports totalling 310 pages have been de-

classified in part in the Status of Projects Subseries, NSC Series of the Records of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. They relate to the National Security and Mutual Security programs.

A 280-page report on the "Military Assistance Programming Conference Held in the Pentagon," January 1959, has been declassified in the Records of the U.S. President's Committee to Study the U.S. Military Assistance Program (Draper Committee).

The Library staff has recently completed a systematic re-review of all materials in the Administrative Series of the Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President, 1953–61 (Ann Whitman File), which were closed under donor restrictions when the series was processed in 1975. Of the 800 pages initially closed, 580 have been opened for research.

John F. Kennedy Library

Additional increments (1 cubic foot) of unclassified material from the National Security Files of the Presidential Papers of John F. Kennedy have been opened to research. These include documents relating to Laos, 1961–63; trips by the secretary of state to Geneva and Paris; and the Department of State.

An increment (320 cubic feet) to the Edward M. Kennedy papers has been accessioned. It includes 270 cubic feet of the senator's office files, ca. 1973–79, and 50 cubic feet of his 1980 presidential campaign files. These are not yet available for research use.

Portions of additional recordings of two meetings in the Presidential Papers of John F. Kennedy have been declassified and opened for research. The two meetings on the Cuban missile crisis were recorded on October 16, 1962 and are available as follows: an 87-page transcript containing all the declassified portions of the two meetings and a 33½-minute cassette containing selected excerpts of the declassified portions.

Lyndon B. Johnson Library

The library has opened the Beautification Files, 1965–68 (11 cubic feet), which are part of Lady-bird Johnson's Social Files. The Beautification Files contain material on meetings and projects of the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, as well as booklets, pamphlets, and other material dealing with national beautification efforts.

The library has opened the papers of Alfred B. Fitt, 1967–69 (2 cubic feet). The papers reflect Fitt's activities as assistant secretary of defense for manpower and reserve affairs, including his involvement in the Selective Service, Project Transition, Project 100,000, Project Volunteer, ROTC programs, military open housing, and the burial of Robert F. Kennedy.

Gerald R. Ford Library

The library has opened White House Central Files category PL—Political Affairs. The file (42 cubic feet) consists of correspondence, memoranda, briefing papers, invitations, schedules, messages, and printed material. Subjects covered include activities of the Republican and Democratic parties and the election campaigns of 1974 and 1976, especially President Ford's efforts on behalf of Republican candidates, possible GOP vice presidential candidates, and the debates between Ford and Jimmy Carter.

The files, 1974–77 (11 cubic feet) of Nancy C. Chirdon and Carolyn K. Porembka, personal secretaries to First Lady Betty Ford, are also now open for research. They contain correspondence, memoranda, briefing papers, guest lists, speeches, programs, schedules, and magazines concerning Mrs. Ford's activities in the Washington, D.C. area, her domestic and foreign trips, and general articles relating to the Ford family.

The files (23.6 cubic feet) of Wanda Phelan, staff assistant in the White House Press Office, are now available for research. The files contain reference material Phelan maintained on the 1976 presidential primaries and fall election campaign: briefing material for President Ford's campaign trips, background material on election issues, newspaper editorials and endorsements, transcripts of interviews and speeches given by Jimmy Carter, and extensive files of newspaper clippings and press wire stores concerning the campaign.

Eleven cubic feet of papers and publications of Julius Shiskin are also open. Shiskin served as chief economic statistician, Bureau of the Census, 1945–69; chief statistician, Office of Management and Budget, 1969–73; and commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1973–78. His papers, 1955–78, include articles, speeches, testimony, newspaper clippings, biographical sketches, and economics and statistics publications.

PUBLICATIONS

The National Archives and Records Service publishes a variety of descriptions and guides to its holdings that are of use to scholars and the general public. These publications include inventories for record groups, special lists, and reference information papers. Inventories are general descriptions of and guides to documents in a record group. They provide a brief history of the agency that created the records and describe each series of records. Frequently, the National Archives publishes a preliminary inventory of a record group to facilitate access to its holdings. Preliminary inventories are less detailed than inventories but are similar in format. Special lists are detailed descriptions of a series of records within a record group or of a subject or activity of an agency. Reference Information papers describe material on a given subject that may be found in several record groups. As a rule these lists and papers follow no established form but vary according to the nature of the records to which they relate.

Earlier publications are listed in the leaflet *Select List of Publications of the National Archives and Records Service* which can be obtained free by writing: Publications Sales Branch (NEPS), National Archives, Washington, DC 20408. Requests for copies of out-of-print items should be addressed to the Program Coordination Staff (NNB); cost is 25¢ per page by mail with a minimum charge of $5. All other requests for publications and information should be addressed to the Publications Sales Branch (NEPS), National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC 20408.

Printed Publications

Effective January 1, 1984, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register lowered subscription prices on certain publications. The 180 volume set of the *Code of Federal Regulations* (CFR), a codification of the current general and permanent rules of various federal agencies, is now available in the paperbound edition for $550 and in microfiche (size 24×) for $200. The monthly *Federal Register Index* has also been reduced in price to $18 a year. The CFR and *Federal Register Index* are published by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service and sold through the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

Recent Microfilm Publications

Microfilm publications are issued by the National Archives to make holdings more widely available for research. Microfilm rolls can be purchased for $17 each from the Publications Sales Branch (NEPS), National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC 20408. Make checks payable to the National Archives Trust Fund (NEPS). Recent releases include:

Records Codification Manual, State Department Central Decimal File, 1950–1963 (M1275, 1 roll), RG 59, General Records of the Department of State.

Township Plats of Selected States (T1234, 67 rolls), introduction by William J. Heynen, RG 49, Records of the Bureau of Land Management.

Federal Register (M190, 22 rolls), introduction by Ruth Pontius, RG 64, Records of the National Archives and Records Service.

Indexes to Naturalization Petitions to the U.S. Circuit and District Courts for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1795–1951 (M1248, 60 rolls), introduction by Robert J. Plowman, RG 21, Records of District Courts of the United States.

Gerald R. Ford Scrapbooks, 1973–1978 (Ford Library, 12 rolls).

Thirty-one volumes of Gerald R. Ford's scrapbooks, covering Ford's life and activities from his nomination as vice president in 1973 to early 1978, are now available on microfilm. The scrapbooks consist of general clippings from national newspapers and magazines; more specific articles from local and foreign newspapers covering Ford's trips; photographs; invitations; programs; and awards. (Similar Ford scrapbooks for the period 1929–73 are also available on microfilm). This publication is available through the Inter-Library Loan Program of the Gerald R. Ford Library, 1000 Beal Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI 48109.

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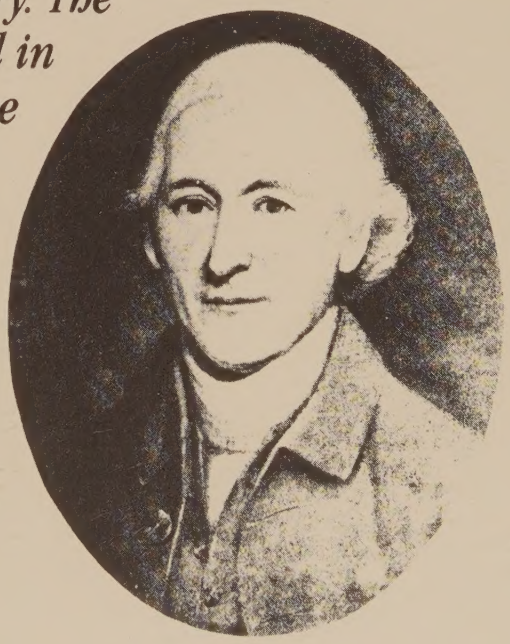

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